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79

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

The Upanishadic Period—Carlo Formichi, Professor, University of Rome, Visiting Professor, *Viswabharati*, 1925-26. ... 1
Reason and Reality—Wendell M. Thomas, Jr., M.A., B.Sc., Professor, F. C. College, Lahore 21
He and I (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta 38
Sir William Norris, V—Harihar Das, B.Lit., London ... 39
World Federation of Educational Associations, Edinburgh, 1925—J. P. Bulkeley, M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon 59
Journalism in India—Patrick Lovett, Editor, *Capital* ... 78
Denial (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland-Anderson 90
Economic Progress—B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Calcutta University 91
Aryan Occupation of India—Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University ... 123
Sir J. C. Bose on Plants and Plant Life—Rai Bahadur A. C. Bose, M.A., Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University 132
Our Vanished Days (*Poem*)—Terésa Strickland ... 143
Empire Universities Congress—Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S., Professor, University College of Science 145
T. Ganapati Sastri (*A Translation*)—Professor Sylvain Lévi, D. Lit., Paris 150

REVIEWS :
- Islamica—S. Khuda Bukhsh 159
- Hindi Mahabharat—Suniti Kumar Chatterji 162

PAGE.
Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference—H. C. R. C. 163
Annual Report on the Police Administration—P. C. G. ... 165
Report on the Working of the Indian Emigration Act—P. C. G. 166
Prachin Silpa Paricay—S. K. C. 166
Men and Thought in Ancient India—N. C. B. ... 167

OURSELVES :

Advancement of Learning 169
The New Vice-Chancellor 174
University Nominations 176
Premchand Roychand Studentship 178
University Examination Dates 178
University Law Examination Results 179
Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow 180

Atman in the Upanishads —Carlo Formichi, Professor, University of Rome, Visiting Professor, *Viswabharati*, 1925-26 181
To a Forgotten Garden (*Poem*)—L. S. Anderson ... 196
Sir William Norris, VI—Harihar Das, B.Lit., London ... 197
The Paths of Glory (*Poem*)—Nalinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 209
World Federation of Educational Associations, Edinburgh, 1925—J. P. Bulkeley, M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon ... 210
Ecce Homo—Adi. K. Sett, Bombay 227
There is an Island (*Poem*)—Marion M. Boyd, Ohio ... 228
Chronology Developed in the "Orion" Untenable—Sita Nath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D. 229
The Vision Within (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta 233
Population as an Indication of Economic Progress—B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Calcutta University 235
Poems—Terésa Strickland 282
Japanese American Relations—Bishop Herbert Welch, D.D., New York 285
Ex Libris: America—Viola Irene Cooper, New York ... 307
O, Peacock, Dance Again (*Poem*)—Miriem Khundkar .. 318

REVIEWS :

A Goan Fiddler—P.R.S. 319
Physical Theory of Sound and its Origin in Indian Thought—P.C.C. 320
Āścarya Cūḍāmoṇi—P.C.C. 320
Manava-Gita—S.K.M. 320

PAGE.

Appendix:
Report on the Students' Welfare Scheme, 1925 ... 1

The Role of Philosophy in Civilization—S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., King George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University 321
Franco-American Alliance and American Revolution—Elizabeth S. Kite, Library of Congress, Washington 332
Two Puppet Nawab-Nazims of Bengal: Mubarak-ud-Daula and Nasir-ul-Mulk, Dilar Jang—Imtiaz Mohamad Khan, M A., Guzrat 345
Railway Finance—S. C. Ghose, Lecturer, Department of Commerce, Calcutta University 361
What Am I (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta 386
Professor Radhakrishnan in America 387
The Voyage of Sir William Norris to India—Harihar Das, B.Lit., London 389
The Call (*Poem*)—L. S. Anderson 408
Life's Crystal Globe—Teresa Strickland 409
A Great Indian Patriot: Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata—Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D., New York ... 413
Song For Dead Love (*Poem*)—Martha Keller, New York 429
Nature in Barhut Sculptures—B M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., Professor, Calcutta University 430
My Journey (*Poem*)—Nalinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 445

REVIEWS:
The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law—Taraknath Das 446
Le Rasa and the Natyasastra of Bharata, Chapter Six—H. K. D. 452
Captures—K. M. Walker 455

Index of Articles.

Atman in the Upanishads 181
Call, The (*Poem*) 408
Chronology Developed in the "Orion" Untenable ... 229
Crystal Globe, Life's (*Poem*) 409
Days, Our Vanished (*Poem*) 143
Dead Love, Song for 429
Denial (*Poem*) 90

PAGE.
Ecce Homo 227
Economic Progress 91
Economic Progress, Population as an Indication of ... 235
Ex Libris : America 307
Federation of Educational Associations, Edinburgh, 1925, World 59, 210
Forgotten Garden, To a (*Poem*) 196
Franco-American Alliance and American Revolution ... 332
Ganapati Sastri, T. (*A Translation*) 150
He and I (*Poem*) 38
Island, There is an (*Poem*) 228
Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata, A Great Indian Patriot ... 413
Japanese American Relations 285
Journalism in India 78
Journey, My (*Poem*) 445
Nawab-Nazims of Bengal, Two Puppet ; Mubarak-ud-Daula and Nasir-ul-Mulk, Dilar Jang 345
Occupation of India, Aryan 123
Ourselves 169
Paths of Glory, The (*Poem*) 209
Peacock, Dance Again, O (*Poem*) 318
Philosophy in Civilization, The Role of 321
Plants and Plant Life, Sir J. C. Bose on 132
Poems 282
Radhakrishnan in America, Professor 387
Railway Finance 361
Reason and Reality 21
Reviews 159, 319, 446
Sculptures, Nature in Barhut 430
Universities Congress, Empire 145
Upanishadic Period, The 1
Vision Within, The (*Poem*) 233
Voyage of Sir William Norris to India, The ... 389
William Norris, Sir ; V, VI, ... 39, 197
What Am I (*Poem*) 386

List of Contributors and their Articles.

Barua, B. M., M.A., D.Lit., Professor, Calcutta University—
Nature in Barhut Sculptures 430

Bose, Rai Bahadur A. C., M.A., Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University—
Sir J. C. Bose on Plants and Plant Life ... 132

PAGE.

Boyd, Marion M., Ohio—
There is an Island (*Poem*) 228

Bulkeley, J.P., M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon—
World Federation of Educational Associations, Edinburgh, 1925 ... ... 59, 210

Chatterji, Mohinimohan, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta—
He and I (*Poem*) 38
The Vision Within (*Poem*) 233
What am I (*Poem*) 386

Chatterjee, Nalinimohan, M.A., Calcutta University—
The Paths of Glory (*Poem*) 209
My Journey (*Poem*) 445

Cooper, Viola Irene, New York
Ex Libris: America 307

Das, Harihar, B.Lit., London—
Sir William Norris 39, 197
The Voyage of Sir William Norris to India ... 389

Das, Taraknath, M.A., Ph.D., New York—
A Great Indian Patriot: Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata 413

Formichi, Carlo, Professor, University of Rome—
The Upanishadic Period 1, 181

Ghose, S. C., Lecturer, Department of Commerce, Calcutta University—
Railway Finance 361

Keller, Martha, New York—
Song for Dead Love (*Poem*) 429

Khundkar, Miriem—
O, Peacock, Dance Again (*Poem*) 318

Kite, Elizabeth S., Washington—
Franco-American Alliance and American Revolution ... 332

Lévi, Professor Sylvain, D. Lit., Paris—
T. Ganapati Sastri (*A Translation*) 150

Lovett, Patrick, Editor, Capital—
Journalism in India 78

Mohamad Khan, Imtiaz, M.A., Guzrat—
Two Puppet Nawab-Nazims of Bengal: Mubarak-ud-Daula and Nasir-ul-Mulk, Dilar Jang 345

Pradhan, Sita Nath, M.Sc., Ph.D.—
Chronology Developed in the "Orion" Untenable ... 229

Radhakrishnan, S., M.A., Professor, Calcutta University—
The Rôle of Philosophy in Civilization 321

PAGE.

Rau, B. Ramachandra, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Calcutta University—
Economic Progress 91
Population as an Indication of Economic Progress ... 235

Ray, Sir P. C., Kt., M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S., Professor, University College of Science, Calcutta—
Empire Universities Congress 145

Raychaudhury, Hemchandra, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University—
Aryan Occupation of India 123

Sett, Adi. K. Bombay—
Ecce Homo 227

Strickland-Anderson, Lily—
Denial (*Poem*) 90
To a Forgotten Garden (*Poem*) 196
The Call (*Poem*) 408

Strickland, Terésa—
Our Vanished Days (*Poem*) 143
Poems 282
Life's Crystal Globe (*Poem*) 409

Thomas, Wendell M., Jr., M.A., B.Sc., Professor, F. C. College, Lahore—
Reason and Reality 21

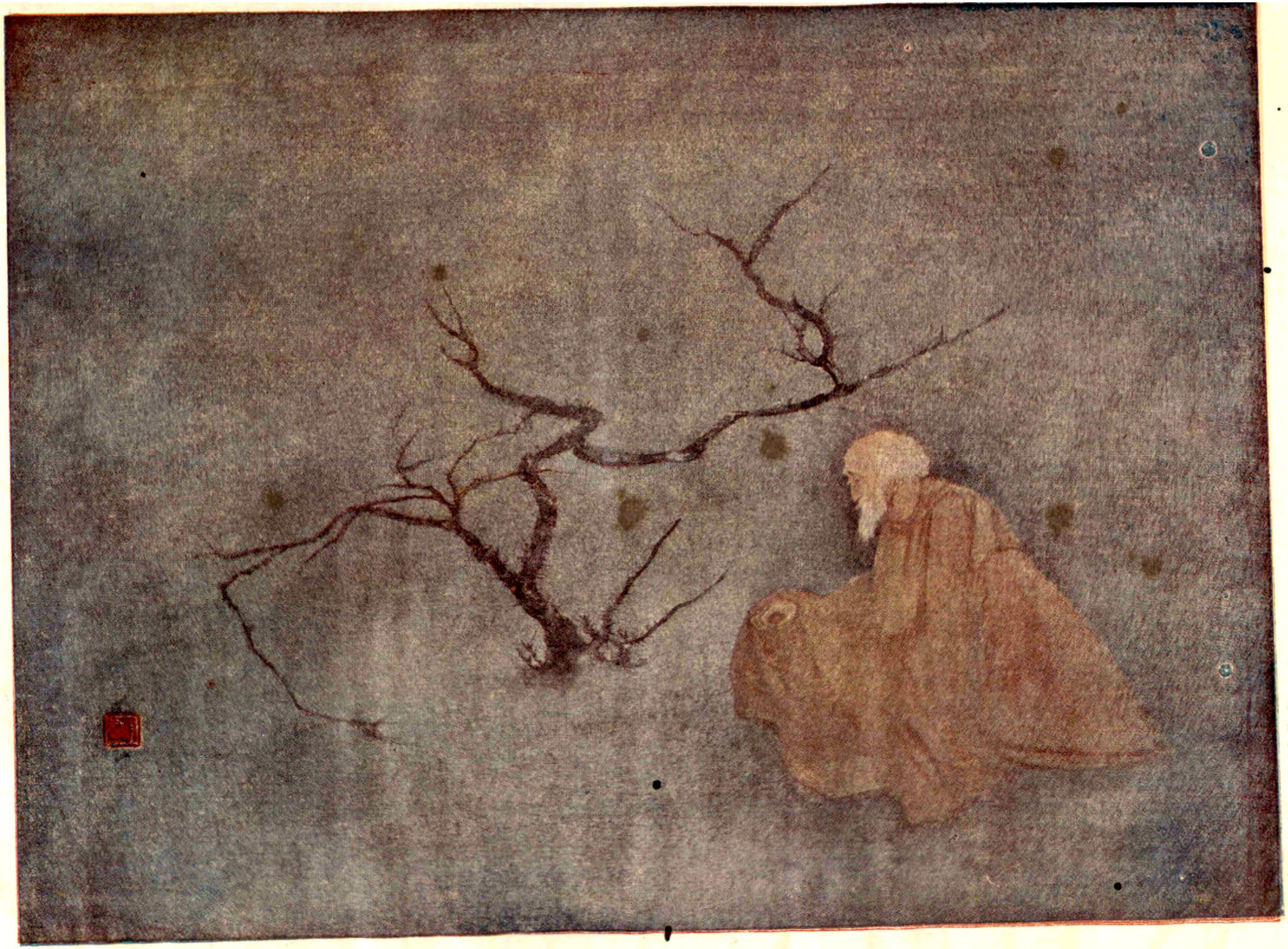
Welch, Bishop Herbert, D.D., New York—
Japanese-American Relations 285

List of Illustrations.

The Thorn's Dream in Winter (*in colours*) ... 1
Premchand Roychand 181
Aurangzib the Great Mughal 197
Aurangzib Riding on an Elephant in a golden *Howdah* 205
Gooroodass Banerjee 321

Pictorial Section.

Nature in Barhut Sculptures 432



THE THORN'S DREAM IN WINTER

Artist—Professor Abanindranath Tagore, D.Lit.]

[By courtesy of the Bangabani

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1926

THE UPANISHADIC PERIOD

On the eve of leaving this land of India, so dear to my heart, the best farewell I can give her is to address so choice a public as this University of Calcutta offers to a lecturer. This my privilege is made the more precious by the subject I have chosen—the *Upanishads.* They are so representative of the Indian mentality, so far removed from anything the West has produced in the field of spirituality, that they may be considered as the touchstone for a Western scholar, as to whether and how much he can understand and appreciate the Indian way of thinking. The synthetical survey, which I shall attempt of the main points of the Upanishadic doctrine, would not have been possible had I not profited by both the oral teaching and the books of my revered *Guru,* Paul Deussen, to whose sacred memory allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to convey at this hour a thought of faithful thankfulness.

In the West we consider the Upanishads as *the* Gospel of India, and there is no sensible man, I think, who would speak of them with less than a certain awe and deep respect. Like men, books which have succeeded in getting a time-honoured reputation amongst millions of human beings become venerable and precious by this same fact of having stood the test of centuries and number. Imposture and quackery are not long in demolishing themselves. Mr. Gough's endeavour to lower the level of the Upanishads has done wrong to nothing but his own credit.

Yet, what we have so often had to remark concerning the omission of Indian literature to separate the gold from the dross, holds good even with respect to the Upanishads. They are far from being a mass of pure gold ; they must be sifted and filtered before they can be duly relished ; they are a mixture of sublimity and triviality, of clear-sightedness and ignorance. In them we sometimes listen to the revelations of a seer, and sometimes to the nonsense of a quack.

Let us take, for instance, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka.* It is a real gem, as we shall have ample occasion to testify. And yet there are passages in it which really disgrace it, and which cannot but quench enthusiasm and arouse considerable mistrust for the whole of the treatise, in an inexperienced Western reader.

In the most serious manner, for example, it is suggested in VI, 4, 10 that a certain regulation of breathing is quite enough to solve the thorny problem of over-increase of population. Malthus did not know of this, otherwise he would not have vainly racked his brain to find out the solution !

Western science leaves to charlatans the question of how it is possible to transfer from nature to man the power of deciding whether a boy or a girl has to be born. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* on the contrary, confidently states (VI, 4, 14) that "the man who wants a male-child, fair-complexioned, peruser of one Veda and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and milk. He and his wife has then only to eat it with clarified butter in order to become fit to beget a son of this description. He who wants a male-child, dark-complexioned, dark-eyed, peruser of two Vedas and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and sour milk. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a son of this description. He who wants a male-child, dark-complexioned, reddish-eyed, peruser of three Vedas and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and pure water. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a son of this description. He who wants a female-child, learned and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and sesame. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a daughter of this description. He who wants a male child learned, illustrious, always attending meetings of scholars, always speaking words listened to, peruser of four Vedas and long-lived, must cook a porridge of rice and meat. If he and his wife then eat it with clarified butter, they will become fit to beget a son of this description. It matters not if the meat taken be the flesh of an ox or of a bull." Only Indians can tolerate that such absurdities and quackeries should go in the same text hand in hand with thoughts which are the expression of extreme enlightenment and wisdom, as that, for instance, so often repeated in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, of the *ātman* being the seer not seen, the hearer not heard, the knower not known and so on. We must not forget that even now-a-days this thought constitutes the starting point of metaphysics; conscience cannot be conscious of itself, and everything that man knows is an estrangement, a keeping aloof from his self.

In the *Chāndogya*—another standard Upanishad,—we are confronted with the same mixture of puerile assertions and the noblest of daring thoughts. Our text, for instance (I, 2, 1-9), wants to account for the fact that our nose can decide quite well whether a thing is fragrant, or malodorous. The Gods, it explains, tried in the beginning, in order to defeat the demons, to avail themselves of that portion of the *rathāntara* song, which is called *udgītha*, and they worshipped it as the breath in the nostrils. But the demons, resorting to evil as a weapon, pierced the breath; therefore our nose can feel good and bad smells. Of course, the priest who devised such a medley—mythological, ritual, and physiological—meant something. Perhaps he wanted to extol *prāṇa* in its pure and absolute essence which is beyond good as well as evil. Yet, there is no gainsaying the fact that such medley must appear to a European reader, and practically is, the tale of an ignoramus.

In the same text we meet with the following cosmogonic myth (VI, 2, 1-4): "In the beginning there was entity alone and no second thing besides. Some say that in the beginning there was non-entity alone, and no second thing besides, therefore entity was brought forth by non-entity. But how can this be so, how is it ever possible that entity should have originated from non-entity? No, in the beginning there was entity alone, and no other thing besides. This entity thought: 'may I become many, may I beget children,' and he effused fire. That fire thought: 'may I become many, may I beget children,' and it emitted water: therefore, man sweats whenever he overheats himself, and from heat water originates. That water thought: 'may I become many, may I beget children,' and it gave birth to corn: therefore, corn grows whenever it rains, and from water corn and every other kind of food is derived."

The more one muses over this cosmogonic hymn, the more one is bound to wonder at its deep purport. The rejection of the notion that the world may have sprung out of nothing, at once bears witness to the scientific instinct of the Indian thinker, while not precluding the possibility of metaphysics and religion agreeing with science. Entity cannot have had a beginning, but it has been and will remain for ever. Fire is at the root of creation. Is not love, the sole begetter of all things, fire itself? Fire preceded water. Why? If we know how to read in the book of Nature, taken as a unity and not as split up by conventional barriers implying the severing of the physical from the physiological world and of the latter from the psychological, we at once see heat produce water when first the sun parches our earth and then clouds pour water upon it; when first *kāma* scalds man's frame and then seed kindles a new life; when first toil overheats the labourer in the fields and then sweat moistens his brow, when first sorrow burns the heart and then tears flow from the eyes. Oh, the blessing of the ignorance of Physics, of Physiology and of Psychology, that made it possible for the Indian seer to bring together the four phenomena in order to show the anteriority of fire in respect to water in the great unity of Nature!

We have here the best illustration of the method of the Upanishads: the laws of Physics may only formally differ from those of Physiology and Psychology: substantially they are the same. It is not man alone who thinks, suffers, rejoices, weeps and laughs, but all things in this huge Universe think, suffer, rejoice, weep and laugh. The star twinkling in the firmament is aspiring to the same goal as man, loving and meditating.

Thus from the puerile myth of the origin of the faculty of smelling good and bad odours we pass over, in the one and the same text, to the broad, enlightening myth of the origin of the world from an eternal entity that in the whole range of Nature brought forth successively fire, water, food. There is undoubtedly a lack of discipline in the way of speculating of all these Indian seers: but we have to grant that undisciplined thought makes the best conquests in the realm of metaphysics and poetry.

It is not knowledge that we have to seek for in the Upanishads, but intuitive presentiments and natural wisdom. The seer of the Upanishads scorns traditional lore and the knowledge that we should style bookish. Nārada in the *Chāndogya* (VII, 1) says to Sanatkumāra that he knows the whole of the Vedas and also the profane sciences (*Kṣatra-vidyā*), whereupon Sanatkumāra tells him quite frankly: "All that you have learned is nothing but words (*yad vai kiñcāitad adhyayīṣṭhā nāmāivāitat*)." Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (IV, 4, 21) tells king Janaka, that the *brāhmaṇa* who really wants emancipation must give up the study of the Vedas, for they are mere words fit only to tire the voice (*nānudhyā yad bahūñ chabdān vāco vilāpanaṁ hi tat*). We read in *Chāndogya* (VII, 5, 2) that people listen to him who knows little but who has got insight (*yady alpavic cittavān bhavati tasmā evota śuśrūṣante*). It is said in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (III, 5, 1) that a *brāhmaṇa* who really wants emancipation has to become sick of knowledge and be like a little child (*pāṇḍityaṁ nirvidya bālyena tiṣṭhāsed*). Here we have the parallel to the evangelical saying that for one who does not become like the little children, the kingdom of heaven will be ever shut (Matth. XVIII, 3).

The truth after which the seer of the Upanishads is seeking is a spiritual one and of a subjective nature. It is something which must be experienced, and which, being experienced, enables man to overcome all the afflictions of life (*tarati śokam ātmavit—Chānd.* VII, 1); something, which being known, nothing else in the world remains to be known, just as clay, copper, iron, being known respectively through an earthen pot, a button, a pair of nail-scissors, are practically known in their substantial and universal expression (*yathāikena mṛtpiṇḍena, lohamaṇinā, nakhanikṛntanena sarvam mṛnmayaṁ, lohamayaṁ, kārṣṇāyāsaṁ vijñātam—Chānd.* VI, 1, 1-5). What we, then, call knowledge is quite a poor thing in comparison with the wisdom the Upanishads promise to man, with the powers they can furnish him with: a man possessed of the Upanishadic truth becomes the thing itself,—the thing that he knows and loves. It is stated (*Bṛhadār.* VI, 1, 1) that "He who knows that which is the noblest and the best, becomes the noblest and the best among his relations (*yo ha vāi jyeṣṭhañ ca śreṣṭhañ ca veda, jyeṣṭhaś ca śreṣṭhaś ca svānām bhavati*)." In *Muṇḍaka* III, 2, 9, we read: "He who knows the highest *brahman* becomes *Brahma* (*yo ha vāitat paramam brahma veda, brahmāiva bhavati*)."

The Upanishads are quite outspoken in proclaiming their own excellence ; they style themselves as the *rasānām rasaḥ* (essences among essences), the *amṛtānām amṛtāni* (nectars among nectars), the *guhya ādesāḥ* (teachings which must be kept secret—*Chānd.* III, 5, 1, 2, 4), the revelation that keeps a man in a perpetual noon and allows him no more to see the sun rise or set (*Chānd.* III, 11, 3 : *na ha vā asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā ihāivāsmāi bhavati ya etām eva brahmopaniṣadam veda*), the wealth that is superior to the earth replenished with gold (*nānyasmāi kasmāicana yady apy asmā imām adbhiḥ parigṛhītāṁ dhanasya pūrṇām dadyād etad eva tato bhūya ity etad eva tato bhūya iti*—*Chānd.* III, 11, 6), the wisdom that leads to immortality and which is far superior to traditional knowledge (*Muṇḍaka*, 1, 1, 4-5 ; *dve vidye veditavya iti ha sma yad brahmavido vadanti parā cāivāparā ca ;......... parā, yayā tad akṣaram adhigamyate*). The Upanishadic doctrine is deemed such a precious thing that it may only be trusted to a first-born son or to a worthy and faithful pupil (*Chānd.* III, II, 5 ; *Śvetāś.* VI, 22). The word *Upaniṣad* itself implies something which is esoteric, secret, mysterious, awful (*Chānd.* 1, 13, 4 ; *Tāittir.* III ; *Bṛhadār.* II, 1, 20 ; *Śvetāś.* V, 6).

Evidently we are confronted either by a gigantic imposture or by some exquisite and sublime conquest of human virtue and human thought.

I have already hinted at the fact that impostures are short-lived and cannot stand the mouldering corrosion of time. Only truth has got in itself the adamantine nature that defies centuries as well as the chisel of human criticism. Impostures, moreover, never ally themselves with a high standard of morals, implying renunciation of worldly interests and eradication of passions. We read in the *Kāṭhaka* (II, 23) ; *nāvirato duścaritān nāśānto nāsamāhitaḥ, nāśāntamānaso vāpi prajñānenāinam āpnuyāt* (He who has not put an end to evil-doing, in whom the fire of passion is not yet extinct, and the mind, far from being collected, is restless, will never attain to Him, even with the aid of great intelligence).

The *Śvetāśvatara*, likewise (VI, 22, 23), states that the Upanishadic revelation must be withheld from the man who has not overcome passion (*nāpraśāntāya dātavyam*), for it becomes light only for the great soul whose devotion to God is as deep as that for his teacher (*yasya deve parā bhaktir yathā deve tathā gurāu, tasyāite kathitā hy arthāḥ prakāśante mahātmanaḥ, prakāśante mahātmana iti*).

Whenever a holy life is presupposed to be the basis of an intellectual or spiritual effort, the threatening danger of imposture or of infatuation ceases at once. Not what a man knows, but what a man does, will ever be the best criterion to judge whether and how far we have to believe in him and follow his teaching. -Holiness will ever be the greatest and most stupendous attainment of man, because holiness will ever be the most difficult thing to be attained by man. The seers of the Upanishads were holy men; and we have, therefore, to examine their teachings with the same reverence that we feel in entering a temple.

Let us not expect to find in the Upanishads a logical system of philosophy. They cannot be read as we generally read books, in which the second chapter is the continuation of the first, the third the continuation of the second, and so on. The Upanishads are a collection of the sayings of old sages, which have been handed down through various schools, and which are not above the suspicion of adjustments, re-elaborations and interpolations. We meet in them with two quite different kinds of contradictions. Nature, life, is full of contradictions, and it is to kill nature, to belie life, therein to introduce our logic. Consistency is not a need of nature, but of our intellect. The great poets teem with contradictions in their works, and yet they are and will ever remain the true prophets of humanity. Contradictions of this kind, which faithfully reflect nature, are often to be met with in the

Upanishads. Logic is dogmatic and does not allow us any choice; it decides, and then forces its decision upon us, it makes us passive; it immures our freedom of thought,—the suggestive promptings of our feeling and of our intuition,—into the prison of a syllogism, into the dungeon of an argument. We never experience this sense of limitation and oppression in reading the Upanishads. On the contrary, they stimulate our thought, they offer us a problem and leave the solution of it to our own discrimination. We have to open the book at random, read half a page, nay, a single line, and then meditate for hours. The following day we may chance on another passage that sets the same problem, put before us yesterday, from quite a different point of view. We shall have again to meditate, and at the end of our meditation we shall realize that what seemed to us a contradiction was simply Truth, together with a respect for our right of judging and selecting for ourselves. The most valuable books, the most precious teachers, are not those who point out to us the solution of a problem, but rather those who set the problem before us and leave to us the joy of solving it for ourselves. We read, for instance, in *Chāndogya* I, 8, 1: "Force, indeed, surpasses intelligence, for a single strong man can make hundreds of intelligent men tremble (*balam vāva vijñānād būhyo api ha śatam vijñānavatām eko balavān akampayate*). This crude assertion makes us wince, and we desperately struggle against its acceptance. But it has nevertheless a deep truth in itself which cannot help being acknowledged by us. Oh, the privilege of being strong! Anyhow, we come out dissatisfied and downcast from our meditation. We feel that we are possessed of only a half-truth. Then we chance to read in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1, 4, 14: 'Nothing is superior to *Dharma*; therefore relying on *Dharma* as on a king, the weak one denounces the strong one (*dharmāt param nāsty atho abalīyān balīyāṁsam āśaṁsate dharmeṇa yathā rājñā*). Blending together these two apparently contradictory sentences, we have before us life itself,—with the undeniable privileges of force and the ineffable blessings of *Dharma.*

As to the other kind of contradictions depending on interpolations, they are really distressing and have to be removed, though with the greatest caution. For instance, we read in the *Kāṭhaka,* II, 8, that without a *guru,* a worthy teacher, who leads to the acquirement of the *ātman*truth, every mental effort is vain (*ananya-prokte gatir atra nāsti*). This is quite in keeping with numberless analogous utterances met with in other Upanishads: "The wisdom imparted by a teacher is the most effectual (*ācāryād dhaiva vidyā viditā sādhiṣṭham prāpayati*: *Chānd.* IV, 93);" "let him, holding wood in his hand, resort to a teacher (*gurum evābhigacchet samitpāṇiḥ*: *Muṇḍ.* I, 2, 12)." The word *Upaniṣad* itself implies that a disciple is sitting near his master in order to receive from him the revelation of a precious mystery.

In spite of all this, the 23rd stanza of the *Kāṭhaka,* II, states quite the reverse: The *ātman*-doctrine cannot be acquired through teaching, or through the intellect or great learning; it can be grasped only by him who has been chosen by *ātman* itself, which then selects his body as its own body (*nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena, yam evāiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas tasyāiṣa ātmā vivṛṇute tanum svām*) Here *ātman* is represented as a personal God dispensing his graces according to his caprice; and the notion of predestination is introduced as a most jarring note in the harmonious chorus of the Upanishads proclaiming man to be the one and sole author of his own destiny. The interpolation is evident, and it is not the only in the text of the *Kāṭhaka,* as I have tried to show in my new book on *The Religious Thought of India before Buddha,* which must have appeared in Italy these last weeks.

After these general remarks, let us consider the historical atmosphere and the social conditions such as can be conjectured on the basis of the data furnished by the Upanishads themselves.

We have often had occasion to realize that history in India has to be extracted from myths and legends. This holds good also with respect to the Upanishads. The main lines, however, of the social conditions and of the standard of civilization in the Upanishadic period may, I think, be confidently traced. We cannot, for instance, entertain the least doubt concerning the fact that a large number of princes and wealthy men lavished big sums of money on learned and illustrious philosophers and Brāhmans, invited them to their courts, argued with them on theological and philosophical topics, taking even more interest in the disputes and controversies of the great thinkers than in the affairs of state.

Janaka, king of Videha, is one of these princes. To his court the most learned Brāhmans flocked from every side, in order to take part in a certain theological disputation. To the winner the king promised a thousand cows from whose horns would be hung bags of gold. The cows were ready there, as soon as the Brāhmans had assembled. The king, pointing to the cows, said: "Venerable Brāhmans, let him take away this cattle, who will prove to be the best knower of *Brahman* (*brahmiṣṭhaḥ*)." Yājñavalkya comes forward at once, and bids his pupil Samaravas to take possession of the cows. Such arrogance urges eight among the present Brāhmans, and also a learned woman, Gārgī, Vacaknu's daughter, to challenge Yājñavalkya to a theological discussion. The nine adversaries are in turn discomfited, so that Yājñavalkya gets the cows without any more opposition (*Bṛhadār.* III, 1-9). Another time, Yājñavalkya calls again on the king, who asks him: "Are you come to get other cows, or to be questioned and then knowingly make answer about philosophical topics?" "I am here," the sage replies, "for the one as well as for the other object." A dialogue ensues wherein Yājñavalkya displays such an amount of spiritual learning that, at the end, Janaka, having reached the supreme truth as well as the peace of his own soul, resigns his kingdom and himself to the sage (*Bṛhadār.* IV, 1, 1, 2, 4). And a still more famous dialogue between Janaka and Yājñavalkya is mentioned in the same Upanishad (IV, 3, 4). The king asks: "Which is the true light of man?" The seer knows so well how to rouse the enthusiasm of the prince, that the dialogue ends, this time also, with the words: "O venerable sage, I give up this my people, and myself, in thraldom to thee."

Another noble type of learned and munificent prince is undoubtedly Ajātaśatru, of Kāśī. He also liked to converse and dispute with theologians, and many times he defeated them, as when, for instance, Bālāki Gārgya goes to him in order to enlighten him on the mystery of *Brahman*, and is made, instead, to realize that the king is a better theologian than he, and that he has to take the humble place of a disciple. "That a Brāhman," Ajātaśatru avows, "should go to a Kshatriya in order to be instructed about what *Brahman* is, means to invert things (*pratilomaṁ vāi tad yad brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyam upeyād, brahma me vakṣyatīti—Bṛhadār.* II, 1, 15)." This is not the only instance of the most suggestive fact that the priest acknowledges in the Upanishads his own inferiority in religious knowledge before a Kshatriya, and asks of him initiation into the sacred truths. We shall have to come back to this important point, that puts beyond question the truth I am pointing out, of the existence of a lay and dynamical thought in ancient Indian society, which accounts for the final stupendous outburst of Buddhism.

King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, in a theological discussion on the *udgītha* with the two learned Brāhmans Śilaka and Caikitāyana, has the best of it (*Chând.* I, 8). The same prince reveals to the famous Brāhman, Uddālaka Āruṇi, and to his son Svetaketu, the progress of the soul after the death of the body. He states that, owing to this knowledge, the caste of the warriors has got the right of command in the worlds (*tasmād sarveṣu lokeṣu kṣatrasyāiva praśāsanam abhūt—Chānd.* V, 3).

King Aśvapati Kaikeya is proclaimed as a teacher by the same Uddālaka Āruṇi, the only man able to give lessons on *Brahman* and *Ātman*. He tells five priests who have gone to him for instruction: "O revered ones, King Aśvapati Kaikeya imparts now lessons on the *Ātman* that is in all men; let us, then, go to him (*Aśvapatir vāi, bhagavanto, yam Kaikeyaḥ sampratīmam ātmānam vāiśvānaram adhyeti tam hantābhyāgacchāma—Chānd.* V. II, 4)." The celebrated Brāhman sage, Nārada, acknowledges that all he has learned has not emancipated him from the afflictions of life. This acknowledgment is made to Sanatkumāra, either the god of war himself, or a personage bearing his name, and therefore representing the caste of the warriors. Sanatkumāra, the warrior, is able to bestow on Nārada, the priest, the knowledge of *Ātman* which enables man to overcome grief and sorrow (*Chānd.* VII, 1, 1-3).

Our list of Upanishadic kings, celebrated on account of their learning, is far from being complete, but we have already enough material to give us notice of an important element of Indian society in that remote period: many a prince eagerly took to philosophy and kept alive spiritual interests by not grudging rewards to the learned.

The example set by the princes was followed by wealthy men, as, for instance, by Jānaśruti, a pious and charitable man, who built guest-houses and hospitals all over the country in order that the poor might always find a roof under which to rest, food to stay their hunger, and medical attendance to relieve their sufferings. Once upon a time Jānaśruti happened to overhear two swans that were saying to each other: "This Jānaśruti's shining glory spreads like sunshine." "Why, thou speakest of him, as if he were Raikva nicknamed the owner of the two-wheeler!" On hearing these words, Jānaśruti wondered who this Raikva might be, the lustre of whose reputation so much overshone his own; and he had inquiries made about him, until one of his servants chanced to see in the public road a man who, crouching under a cart, was engaged in scratching his itches. It was Raikva, the great sage. Jānaśruti hastened to offer him six hundred cows, gold, and a coach drawn by mules, asking in exchange that he should tell him who the deity was whom he was wont to worship. Raikva scornfully replied to him: "Keep for yourself, O slave, your cows, your gold and your coach, and leave me in peace." Jānaśruti nothing daunted, goes back to his house, adds to the number of six hundred another four hundred cows, and to the gold and the coach his own lovely, marriageable daughter, and presenting himself again to Raikva addresses him with the words: "Here are for you one thousand cows, here is gold, here is a mule-yoked coach: here is a bride and a whole village to dwell in: do, please, reveal to me your deity." Raikva came near the girl, lifted up her head, declared his acceptance of the gifts, and said: "This pretty face, O slave, would alone have been enough to make me speak." And thus, Jānaśruti knew who was the deity that Raikva was wont to worship.

This Indian sage who has nothing but his knowledge, and his itches, and yet proudly scorns rich people who humbly bow before him, does he not remind us of the Greek Diogenes, does he not effectively characterize an age? (*Chānd.* IV, 1, 8).

Characteristic of the age is also the story of the young Satyakāma. He wants to become a *brahmacārin* and to study the Vedas. Before being admitted into the house of a teacher, he has to prove that he has been lawfully born of a Brāhman. But Satyakāma has no father, and he learns from his mother that he is an illegitimate son. He nevertheless goes to Hāridrumata, a learned teacher, and asks of him tuition. Questioned about his birth the straightforward young man does not hesitate to acknowledge his shameful origin. Hāridrumata, quite won by his candour, exclaims: "Only the son of a Brāhmaṇ can speak so straightforwardly," and accepts him in his house as his disciple. Satyakāma, of course, became a great sage, and we admire Hāridrumata's broadness of view that practically got the better of the prejudice of caste (*Chānd.* IV, 4).

Let us now pass over to the women of the Upanishads. The place of honour has, undoubtedly, to be allotted to Maitreyī, Yājñavalkya's wife. Her story is quite well known and can be summed up in the refusal with which she meets the proposal of being made the heir to the material, rather than the spiritual, wealth of her husband. She does not want riches that do not lead to immortality. She says to her husband: "Even if you were to give me the whole earth, replete with gold, what would be the use of it to me? Give me that which can make me immortal: the treasure of thy knowledge" (*Bṛhadār.* II, 4, 1; IV, 5, 2). Even cleverer than Maitreyī, though not as exquisitely gentle as she, is Gārgī, Vacaknu's daughter, whom we had already occasion to mention among Yājñavalkya's rivals on the occasion of the theological tournament at the court of King Janaka. She bravely bows her head twice to the invincible seer, and she is the first to acknowledge his superiority and to advise the other eight Brāhmaṇs to give in and pay their homage to him. Vidagdha Sākalya did not listen to her wise suggestion, and he dearly paid for it, inasmuch as his head was split, and his bone carried away by some robbers who deluded themselves into the belief that those bones were something valuable and precious (*Bṛhadār.* III, 6, 8, 9, 26).

We read also (in *Bṛhadār.* III, 3, 7), about women beset by a Gandharva, who thereupon become clear-sighted and able to solve problems of theology.

Another important element that we have to keep in view in our attempt to get an idea of the social conditions in the

Upanishadic period, is the figure of the ascetic. Professor Jacobi says that at the end of the Ṛgvedic period there arose a class of men who practised penance (*tapas*) instead of sacrifices (*yajña*). In the *Śatapatha* they are called *śramaṇa*, and they appear as antagonists of the officiating priests. *Tapas* is considered to be an irresistible power. The Gods themselves resort to it, especially Prajāpati when he wants to create the world. There is in the *Brāhmaṇas* a certain competition between *tapas* and *yajña*.

In the Upanishadic period *tapas* becomes more and more preponderant. The tendency exalting *tapas* at the expense of *yajña* is more then ever apparent in the Upanishads, which, like the *Muṇḍaka*, draw their origin from outside the Brāhmaṇical circles.

I shall point to some of the most characteristic passages aiming at the glorification of *tapas* and at the lowering of *yajña*.

The *dakṣiṇā*, or fee, was a thing of paramount importance for officiating priests, inasmuch as it constituted their livelihood. Yet we read in the *Chāndogya* (III, 17, 4) that the *tapas* (penance), *dānam* (charity), *ārjavam* (righteousness), *ahiṁsā* (non-killing) and *satya vacanam* (truth-telling), are the true *dakṣiṇā*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (IV, 4, 22) states that all Brāhmaṇs who have known what *Brahman* is, become ascetics and live on alms (*bhikṣācaryam caranti*).

A passage in the *Kauṣītaki* (II, 5) condemns sacrifices and offerings and states that the sages of yore never practised the *agnihotra* (*purve vidvāṁso'gnihotram na juhavāṁ cakruḥ*). We have only to think of the importance of the *agnihotra* with Brāhmaṇs to realize the heretical purport of that sentence.

Another Upaṇishad (*Muṇḍaka*, I, 2, 10, 11) confirms that thinking oblations and ceremonies to be the highest thing, blockheads fail to become aware of a still loftier blessing. But those who, dwelling in a wood, live merely on alms, and, through *tapas* and faith (*śraddhā*), get knowledge and peace,—these men, indeed, cleansed from earthly dust, go through the sun, to the place where the immortal Purusha is, He whose soul is imperishable (*iṣṭāpūrtam manyamānā variṣṭham nāñyac chreyo vedayante pramūḍhāḥ......; tapaḥśraddhe ye hy upavasanty araṇye śāntā vidvāṁso bhāikṣācaryām carantaḥ, sūrya-dvārena te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ sa puruṣo hy avyayātmā*).

In *Praśna* (I, 15) we find matrimony disavowed, for the world of *Brahman* belongs only to those who in chastity practise austerities (*ye prajāpativratam carante te mithunam utpādayante: teṣām evāiṣa brahmaloko yeṣām tapo brahmacaryaṁ yeṣu satyam pratiṣṭhitam*).

The ascetic is therefore quite the reverse of the Brāhman. The latter does not shun, but rather seeks familiar ties, has got no aversion to property and riches, makes the most of rites and observances; while the former is a revolutionary who considers wife and children as a hindrance to spiritual perfection, who makes light external ceremonies, and in lieu thereof expects every revelation from internal religious fervour and who, above all, tramples on wealth as on the most dangerous and loathsome allurement to evil.

We may confidently state that the Upanishadic spirit is irreconcilable with wealth, and in this characteristic I think I perceive a deeply religious disposition. Complete and sincere renunciation of worldly enjoyments is the basis of every truly religious life. Worshippers of the True God never were at the same time worshippers of the golden calf, nay they ever trampled on the latter. Worldly interests are an encumbrance to the man aspiring to God. Buddha gave up a kingdom for solitude and contemplation. We grant that Yājñavalkya's voracity for riches is objectionable: he is always haunting Janaka's court in order to extort cows and gold from the pious and munificent king. But Yājñavalkya himself realizes, at the end, the hollowness of riches and withdraws to the forest in order to lead the life of an anchorite. His previous attachment to wealth seems to be devised only in order to set off his final renunciation. Uddālaka Āruṇi refuses the gifts that King Pravāhaṇa offers to him, and what he asks is only to be initiated into the mysteries of the Beyond. We have already seen that Maitreyī spurned the wealth her husband wanted to bequeath to her: she longed for the weatlh that discloses the path to immortality. Sanatkumāra tells Nārada in the loftiest manner: "In this world they call greatness cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves and wives, fields and lands; but I do not mean this kind of greatness, I do not mean this kind of greatness (*Chānd.* VII, 24, 2)." Yama offer to Naciketas the full enjoyment of all possible pleasures during a life as long as he shall desire, but Naciketas' answer is that he who has but once looked at death cannot any more find his heart's content in wealth (*na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyaḥ*); he who has got only a glimpsé of the Eternal cannot any longer be allured by sensual pleasures; and even the longest life is short in comparison with eternity (*api sarvam jīvitam alpam eva*: *Kaṭha*, I, 23-26). And Yama cannot help admiring Naciketas' wisdom, for wealth, indeed, is a pool in which men are drowned, and moreover the worst of intoxications; because the wealthy man thinks that there is only one world,—that of his luxuries,—and thinking so he falls a prey to death over and over again.

We have now before us materials enough for an attempt at tracing a historical sketch of the Upanishadic period. Its contempt of riches entitles us to assume that in that period not only was there wealth, but also a feeling of indifference towards it, which shows that people had long been accustomed, generation after generation, to its enjoyment. People who, for the first time, experience what wealth is, have no temptation at all to give it up. Civilization must be quite advanced to allow man to weigh temporal and spiritual enjoyments against each other, and then to affirm that the latter are weightier. No Ṛgvedic man would ever have felt and behaved like Naciketas. In the Upanishadic period man knew how to enjoy life: mention is often made of rich possessions, of lands and cattle; of coaches, elephants and horses; of splendid dresses, carpets and jewels; of courtesans, music, dancing and phantasmagoric performances, of fame and glory acquired through liberality or knowledge; of princes and courts bestowing the most munificent gifts on learned philosophers and theologians. Many a Brāhmaṇ is called *mahāśāla*, which bears witness to the existence of rich teachers possessed of broad halls (*śālā*), where they imparted their knowledge to the numerous pupils flocking to their lessons. The greatest evidence, however, of the times being conspicuously advanced is to be found in the fact that women like Maitreyī and Gārgī discoursed on theological subjects and shared in the loftiest intellectual and spiritual interests. Schopenhauer calls women 'Philistines' past all cure, that is to say, beings who rarely feel inclined to renounce real, tangible luxuries for the sake of intellectual achievements or of spiritual blessings. Nature itself makes of woman a conservative force. How many temporal advantages man would renounce and lose, if woman were not there to check his idealistic tendencies? Are we, then, not to give paramount importance to Maitreyī's words of contempt for temporal wealth and of indomitable yearning after eternal bliss?

The Upanishadic society seems almost obsessed by the one problem of religion: warriors defeat priests in depth of theological knowledge: prejudice of caste surrenders, as in the case of Satyakāma, before the higher considerations of humanity: the wealthy man bows to the poor one whenever the latter can claim spiritual superiority; the cleverest priests, as for instance Yājñavalkya, set at naught sacrificial practices and ceremonies and withdraw into the forest to live there on alms and in contemplation; traditional lore is deemed quite inferior to the inspiration of the man who, through the purity of his life, has become as simple as a child.

It is clear, therefore, that the Upanishads are the offspring of a spiritual revolution which was started, outside the Brāhmanical circles, by the laymen, of whom the Kshatriyas took the lead and always remained ahead.[1]

CARLO FORMICHI

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University.

CRCU 136

REASON AND REALITY

(A Critical Exposition of the Rationalism of L. T. Hobhouse)

Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse, Professor of Sociology in the London School of Economics and Political Science, is a representative contemporary British thinker to whom "nothing human is alien," and in whom careful research unites with luminous insight. Independent of any one school, he stands as a symbol of the rich variety of English philosophy in the past century—the humanistic zeal of J. H. Bridges, the practical sagacity and fervid liberalism of J. S. Mill, the scientific approach and vast evolutionary range of Herbert Spencer, and T. H. Green's insistence on ethical effort and social progress. His timely books and articles attacking economic, political and social problems are supported by massive works on logic, psychology, sociology, metaphysics and ethics.

After Francis Bacon, one of the first noble sons of the modern age, had set forth the general programme for the establishment of the empire of man over God-given nature, and uttered the dictum that knowledge is power, Locke engaged in the special investigation of the nature, certainty and extent of that knowledge, seeking to learn how the understanding, confronted with its objective, simple ideas of sensation and reflection, builds them up into great, complex systems of thought. Reacting to Hume's reduction of all valid knowledge to nothing but these separate sensations Kant strove to demonstrate that sensations are merely the appearances shaped by the mould of the mind out of reality. Blithely consigning Kant's reality to the realm of the Unknowable, Spencer took the moulded sensations as natural events in evolution and dissolution, while Green took the mould of the mind as itself constituting nature.

GS 1429

Now Hobhouse was dissatisfied with both these systems. The generally accepted Spencerian interpretation of evolution, he was convinced, not only supported a rank economic individualism that threatened social ethics with extinction, but also implied that mind and progress were illusory; the idealism of T. H. Green was a heroic attempt to rescue and hold aloft the supremacy of mind in the Absolute Consciousness, but it tended to break with science, and "throw the halo of idealism over every sordid event." So Hobhouse endeavoured to close the breach.

> "I was convinced that a philosophy that was to possess more than a speculative interest must rest on a synthesis of experience as interpreted by science, and that to such a synthesis, the general conception of evolution offered a key. * * * If this conception was interpreted in terms of experience, it indicated a point of union, where one would not expect to find it, between the Idealist and the Positivist philosophy." The higher self-consciousness of Idealism "would be the Humanity of Positivism, regulating its own life and controlling its own development. But further, if this was the true empirical account of Evolution, our interpretation of that process would be fundamentally changed. * * * To the fully conscious mind in man everything would lead up, and from it once formed, all future movement would be derived." [1]

Hobhouse was aware, however, that as the objective synthesis could be achieved only by subjective mind, its validity would depend on the validity of the mental function of knowing. Hence he first produced *The Theory of Knowledge* (1896), in which he aims to discover not only how thought can know its object (epistemology), and how it reaches certainty in reasoning on this data (logic), but also, and chiefly, what is the place and validity of thought as a whole in Reality (metaphysics). Candid and liberal, he selects from various sources. The English Empirical tradition of Mill and Spencer and the German rational tradition of Hegel and Lotze he seeks to combine with the contemporary researches of the idealists Bosanquet and Bradley, of Sigwart, and of the psychologists Wundt, Ward and James.

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[1] *Development and Purpose*, pp. xviii-xx.

All knowledge, says Hobhouse, arises in some way from experience. The primitive act of knowledge is not judgment, as the Idealists assert, but apprehension, feeling, sensation, the immediate, conscious awareness or grasp of the present; and "the content of apprehension is Fact." The understanding neither creates nor moulds nature, but finds it. Hobhouse does not explicitly define "experience"; but according to his obvious implications, experience is the content of apprehension, the known object or fact immediately present to the knowing subject. On the underived and indubitable foundation of experience, inference builds up a systematic thought structure whose validity is measured by the mutual support, or consilience, of its several independent inductions, methods, axioms and postulates. Consilience, then, is the ultimate principle of validity.

But how, asks Hobhouse, can we feel sure that this principle itself is valid, that knowledge deals with reality and not appearance? Assuming that this principle that corrects and tests our knowledge must always come from knowledge itself, he admits that he seems to be caught in a circle. The ways out offered by scepticism, intuitionism, relativism, idealism and the evolutionary test of survival are all examined and found wanting. His own laborious conclusion is that until we can reach ideal completeness where experience is wholly explained by knowledge, we must rely on the system's consilient tendency, justified by its achieved success in experience. But he is no Pragmatist: he stoutly maintains that the empirical test possesses no validity apart from the principle of validity itself. But in looking to the future for the completeness of this principle, we are justified by the essential dynamic nature of knowledge, "the living organism absorbing fresh matter and making it its own. * *

For the knowledge that so lives, there is no death." Some day it may know the whole, "the one thing ultimately and completely substantial, an interconnected system of reality "not explicable without, but intelligible within." Faith, feeling, intuition and imagination, he concedes, are valuable in "gaining for us the right to feel what we cannot express, and to hope what we cannot substantiate," but all these methods must conform to the test of intellectual consistency.

Satisfied thus as to the ultimate validity and present worth of knowledge, Hobhouse proceeds to use it with confidence in constructing his synthesis of experience on the basis of the general theory of evolution. In *Mind in Evolution* (1901 and 1915) each distinct type of mental adjustment in the various species of animal life is pegged in an ascending scale according to its scope and precision, compared with its mate among the variety of man's mental reactions, and held to represent a stage in the real, temporal evolution of mind from the lowest individual animal to the highest human society. In *Morals in Evolution* (1906, 1907, and 1915) each distinct type of contemporary non-civilized cultural group is pegged in an ascending scale according to its control over nature, compared with its mate within modern civilization, in the annals of history, or disclosed by archaeological relics, and held to represent a stage in the real, temporal evolution of human society from the lowest prehistoric savagery to the highest world-wide civilization.

In *Development and Purpose* (1913), the conclusions of these works are summarized, and synthesized with the metaphysical conclusions of *The Theory of Knowledge.* The empirical and temporal evolution of mind in thought and action. (part I) is linked to the rational and eternal position of mind in the structure of reality (Part 2) by their common share in the ultimate validity of rational system. But here this rational system is no longer a naked skeleton: rather the whole organic goal and ground of the warm and living reason harmonizing every feeling and thought in progressive mastery of its thwarting conditions. At the outset, Hobhouse criticises the contemporary biological theory that mental activity is merely a function for adapting the organism to its environment; it leads, he protests, to mechanism in theory and to ruthlessness in practice. So he attempts to show that evolution actually reveals significant "changes in kind" in *mind* as well as in organic tissue. Mind not only secures more effectively the permanence of the species, but as it outgrows its original needs, also becomes *self-determining*, guided by the values that belong to its own world. In dealing with the higher mentality of human culture, with its ideals of progress, the empirical method must pass from judgment of fact to judgment of value. Now rational values indeed depend largely on the actual trend of development, yet we cannot project the curve of evolution into the future by history alone; we must also investigate the metaphysical *ground* of mental growth.

Hobhouse defines mind as the permanent unity of psychophysical processes in which consciousness shades off from clear light to utter dark. Consciousness is the organ by which mind effects fresh, swift, and efficient correlation. Since we cannot feel another's consciousness, we must judge it by its *behaviour*. Hence the level of consciousness will depend on the degree of correlation. With the rise of mind in the organism to secure a finer adjustment to its environment, the supporting conditions that originally affect the mind from *without* are gradually brought *within* its consciousness and control. The organism's response to environment, at first wholly random and useless (as in nervous shock), is gradually directed into paths normally suitable to vital needs by the action of hereditary reflex (as in cough). But to meet the variation of sense stimuli, there arises a special correlation of co-present sense data in conscious sensori-motor action (as in returning a tennis ball). This is developed by heredity into instinct, a train of response neither mechanical nor intelligent (as in the efforts of the "solitary wasp" to get his spider into the hole). Instinct guided by present experience becomes habit or skill (as when the chick learns to avoid pecking a bitter orange peel). Skill develops ideas when action is correlated with consequence. When ideas themselves are consciously considered, a correlation of universals arises, in which experience is organised into bodies of thought and action (such as language and industry) and subordinated to wide and permanent ends, personal and social.

Finally, the deficiencies and contradictions of the thought order force on a process of reconstruction in which the underlying consciousness-building principles of heredity, personal experience and social contact are themselves brought within consciousness (as in scientific system). It now becomes possible to take a comprehensive survey of human development, tracing our life back to its ultimate conditions, and carrying it forward to its ultimate meaning, thus correlating human purpose as a whole with its conditions as a whole. Throughout this process, culture follows consciousness, but at a slower pace: ethics lags behind science, and practice behind theory. Evolution is not a straightforward, continuous movement nor even a spiral. There is no automatic law of progress: "all we can say is that, with whatever halts and backturnings, it is a direction in which humanity, or a large part of it, has actually moved a very considerable distance and is at present moving with greatly increased velocity." The essential condition of progress is for mind to become self-conscious, so as to assume ever greater control over the conditions of its own development, and thus achieve a rational harmony of experience.

Hobhouse now proceeds to ask whether Reality as a whole supports the progress of rational mind. In both organic and inorganic structure, he replies, "harmony is not only a product of development," as shown by the synthesis of experience, "but a cause of development."

> "(1) As far as two things support each other, they have an advantage in the struggle with others which conflict with one another, and their type will tend to multiply. * * * (2) What applies to concrete individuals applies also to principles, tendencies, modes of action. So far as these conflict, they tend to cancel out. So far as they harmonize, they maintain one another........." In the world of *mind* moreover, "every felt disharmony is a stimulus to effort. Instead of merely threatening destruction, it is at least potentially a cause of advance." Now, he continues, "We have shown that harmony, so far as realized, is a factor in success. * * * We may assume that the mind can ultimately so far control its own action and its own products, such as social institutions, as to achieve a complete internal harmony. But we cannot thus assume that it can also control the physical conditions of life. * * * We cannot tell how far harmony can be developed unless we can determine whether Mind is a true cause of growth, and how it is related to other causes affecting the life of man. This necessitates an inquiry into the nature of causation." [1]

Here Hobhouse seeks to probe into the very heart of Reality, and disclose the ultimate ground of all existence. In explaining a thing, he says, we may "refer it (teleologically) to its place in a system which as a whole has value, or (mechanically) to its immediate antecedents in indifference to any system." Now we are cautioned that mechanism and teleology are not two substances, a conception giving rise to an insoluble "mind-body" problem, but two sets of relations, two modes in which reality operates.

> "At some points, reality appears to operate on wholly mechanical lines. At other points, in living beings, its mechanical operations are qualified by teleological factors. At other points, it may be, it acts in teleological ways exclusively. * * * There is no warrant.........for the inference that in the living being either the mechanical or the teleological factor is the 'substance' of which the other is the 'quality.' Both factors qualify the

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[1] *Idem*, p. xii.

total Reality, which in addition may contain many unknown elements.* * * We have now to enquire into the part played by these two processes in Reality as a whole." Since "the scientific use of experience is a process that goes beyond observed and recorded facts, "we may find the desired instrument of inquiry" in the basic principles with which the validity of science stands or falls. The most general of these is the impulse "to build up a whole of experience" in which every element "would have a reason rendered for it in something else, and ultimately in the nature of the whole as a whole." Now the whole can be explained only by "an inherent reason......something in its own nature......its value, but the value, the good of the whole, is in turn conditioned..... by the structure of Reality, without which it could not be achieved."[1]

Now to avoid the unethical conclusion that already "Reality is Perfect," Hobhouse asserts that value is "not identical with the whole," but merely "an element within the system, a living principle running through the whole......a determining character or condition." Value finds its ultimate ground in the whole structure's "own inherent nature." What then is this ultimate inherent nature ?

> "Arguing from the ideal of thought, we can only prove that, so far as reality is fully intelligible, it must be a teleological process; but arguing from the principle that underlies mechanism, that all variable relations must be ultimately resolvable into relations holding between terms as such, we can show that variable relations must belong to a whole, the elements of which necessitate one another at some point of time.* * * We are led accordingly to conceive of Reality, either as being at any moment a system of parts which necessitate one another, or as being a collocation determined by such a system.***But since discord exists, such a harmony does not exist and never has existed." Hence harmony, or the necessary system of parts, "must be in the future, and the actual constitution of things at any time must be determined by the element in that harmony which each one of them is to contribute.* * * In the more ultimate sense in which Reality is not in time, but time is in Reality, the whole system of things would consist in the realization of an organic principle through development, time itself depending on the function of change as necessary to development."[2]

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[1] *Idem*, pp. 329 ff.

[2] *Idem*, p. 351.

Reality, then, is a necessary harmony realized by purpose working on mechanism. But purpose implies mind.

> "So far as our experience and our powers of conception extend, the existence of a Purpose implies a Mind commensurate with that purpose. Mind is the permanent—we may venture to say the substantive-basis of purposive conception or activity. * * * If, as we now conclude, a purpose runs through the world whole, there is a mind of which the world purpose is the object. Such a Mind must be a permanent and central factor in the process of Reality, but how in detail its relation to reality in general, and the individual mind in particular, is to be conceived is a question about which it is best frankly to confess ignorance." But "one negative limitation is indeed clear. The Mind......must neither be confused with the whole of things nor with an Omnipotent Creator of things......for mechanism—the antithesis of purpose—runs through the structure of the whole, and in dependence upon mechanism, discord and evil. * * * The reality of evil must be recognized as something very different from a mere privation of good. It is the positive result of the clash of processes, and of purposive processes, too, that are not organized." On the other hand, "Humanity as the spirit of harmony and expanding life, shaping the best actions of the best men and women, is the highest incarnation known to us of the divine."[1]

Thus, according to Hobhouse, a combination of the inductive argument from experience and the deductive argument from causality "lead us to conceive the world process as a development of organic harmony through the extension of control by Mind operating under mechanical conditions which it comes by degrees to master."[2] At the close of a later book, *The Rational Good* (1921), he further develops this concept as the metaphysical implication of his moral system.

> "The reality which the moral order implies is a spiritual principle, which, from its most salient feature, we may call briefly the principle of Love,......culminating in an incipient union of human-kind. * * * This principle is not the ground of Reality, but only of the development which takes place in Reality. * * * What, then, is the nature of its embodiment or concrete realization? * * * We are not to infer from the potency of love in

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[1] *Idem*, p. 371.

Idem, p. 372.

the universe to a God of Love from whom it flows," any more than we infer a God of Gravity from the principle of gravity. "Once regarding Reality as a whole, we must look for the principles of its explanation within. * * * A process thus determining and determined by its own outcome is of the nature of Effort, and the world-development must therefore fall under this category. What we call Time is the common measure of the series of changes interfused with this effort, and what we call Eternity is neither the indefinite prolongation of Time nor the negation of Time, but the co-presence of past and future in a Reality of which all process is but one Facet.[1]

In sum, Hobhouse holds ultimate Reality to be an eternal, necessary harmony. This harmony is the realization, cause, ground or determinant of the purposive, temporal, effort-like development of value, whose ground is Mind or Love, culminating in Humanity, the highest known incarnation of the divine. In considering this position, we are first of all surprised to note that the purposive development has two grounds : (1) the necessary harmony, and (2) Mind. Hobhouse is both careful to declare they are not the same, and frank to confess ignorance of their relation ; yet it is clear that in his opinion Mind is in some way subordinate to the necessary harmony. He realizes that if he were to identify the two, he would land in the camp of the Absolute Idealists, whose position he considers subversive of ethical effort. A second curious situation is that although he speaks of Humanity as an incarnation of the divine, he makes no room for the divine in his system. In his lectures he explains that *if* there be a God, Humanity is His highest incarnation. These two cases show that his system is not fully worked out.

Moreover, it is inconsistent in the treatment of time. We are told now that the ultimate harmony "must be in the future," that is, in time; and again of "the more ultimate sense in which Reality is not in time, but time is in Reality." In defence of ethical effort, he places harmony in the future so as to avoid the effort-paralyzing conception that Reality is Perfect at the present time. Now lest this harmony, or realization of human effort, prove a mere temporal appearance he hastens to change it into a time-including Eternity. But now in affirming the eternal reality of the necessary harmony he unwittingly makes human effort a mere temporal appearance. Indeed his final conclusion is in the main identical with the Absolute Idealism he criticises. The only prominent difference is that while Absolute Idealism openly admits that its eternal Reality is Perfect, Hobhouse vainly tries to avoid this inevitable conclusion of his system by indulging in a magnificent, unphilosophic, evolutionary myth which obscures his real position. The story runs thus : when all was chaotic, mechanical and undeveloped, a little purpose began to develop ; and after a long time it grew to be a big purpose with a big Mind, and some day it will be so big that all will be inside it in a necessary realization of its work of ordering the world, and that's the end !

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[1] *The Rational Good*, p. 159.

His system is inconsistent also in its treatment of mechanism. Aiming to show the real triumph of ethical effort, he declares that evil is not mere privation of good, but a real and positive result of a clash of processes depending on mechanism ; but purpose is progressively mastering mechanism, and when purposive correlation is complete, mechanism "passes over into the region of at once organicity and purpose." From this it would seem as though mechanism were ultimately wiped out. But his final conclusion is quite different. An organic, purposive whole, he says, is like a *machine* with an inner purpose. Since purpose is always conditioned by mechanism, its final mastery must be a necessary order resting on "the principle which underlies mechanism, that all variable relations must be resolvable ultimately into relations holding betweeen terms as such." He doesn't seems to realize that if, as he insists, evil is dependent on mechanism, this final mechanical harmony will be full of evil. Thus his final conclusion is in the main identical with the Positivism he criticises. The only prominent difference is that while Positivism openly admits that mechanism is ultimate, Hobhouse tries to avoid this inevitable conclusion of his system by speciously clothing the mechanical harmony with the robe of human purpose.

Now since Hobhouse's position is in the main identical with both Absolute Idealism and Positivism, we may admit he has succeeded in uniting the two, but must insist that the union does not correct the basic defects of either. Hobhouse fails in his main philosophic enterprise, for in his ultimate necessary and mechanical "block-universe," mind and progress are still illusory, and the halo of idealism still lies over every sordid event. Idealism and Positivism can unite because they are both forms of Rationalism, while Rationalism is basically defective in its inability to free itself from determinism. Now determinism springs from the view that all experience comes by way of *knowledge*, with its determinate mechanical or mathematical ideal. On this one assumption hang all its inadequacies, inconsistencies and failures. Knowledge is admittedly justified in its determinate ideal, but is *Reality* no more than a mode of knowledge? What Rationalism says about Reality is quite true as a description of the *realm of reason*, but can unconditioned Reality be contained within the categories of reason?

Hobhouse's whole rationalistic system rests on the original assumption that *experience is fact*, that the underived, indubitable, immediately present *feeling* on which all knowledge is based is a *known object* apprehended by a knowing subject. He does not state explicitly that experience can be nothing but fact: interested in knowledge rather than experience, he is content to affirm that an experience such as underived feeling can be known by simple apprehension without the use of judgment. But nothing in his system indicates any awareness that experience is ever given except as Fact. He insists indeed that the understanding does not create or mould nature, but finds it; yet he never deals with nature before it is found.

Now the assumption that experience *as such* is given as fact in the knowledge relation leads inevitably to the metaphysical position that reason is illusory. For the very function of reason is to organize its facts into a necessary system. If all experience is fact, actual or possible, then all experience must become a necessary system if reason is to be valid and the universe rational. But once this ultimate goal is reached, reason is useless, for Reality is now a complete achievement, and rational correlation is no longer possible. Reason, as it were, buries itself in a grave of its own digging. Hence the progressive activity of reason at any point of time is mere illusion. Rationalism is defective because self-contradictory: inspite of its dominant conviction of the reality of reason, its premises force the conclusion that reason is illusory.

A way out of this impasse is to recognize that while a feeling or other basic experience can be known, it is not on that account essentially a mere object of knowledge, but something in itself and in its own right, an intrinsic experience underlying the whole cognitive or subject-object relation, such as Kant's "thing-in-itself," Jacobi's "faith" or "intuitive reason," Schleiermacher's "sense of the Infinite," Schelling's "nature," Schopenhauer's "will," Bergson's "vital urge," and Dewey's "existence as precarious" or "non-cognitive experience." Digestion, says Dewey, may be known, but the process of digestion as such is obviously neither an act of knowledge nor an object of knowledge, but simply a vital experience; and insanity, if known by the experiencer, would be impossible.

Why does Hobhouse ignore this non-cognitive, indeterminate aspect of experience and Reality? Most likely because throughout his career he has devoted his interest to the place of reason in Reality rather than to Reality itself, This specialism is evident from his non-metaphysical works. His political philosophy, while exceedingly fruitful, is yet basically faulty because his underlying social psychology deals with the implicitly rational organism (whether biological or social) to the neglect of the organism's environment. His social philosophy, while penetrating and original, is based on an inadequate induction, because he has neglected the influence of such indeterminate causes of progress as geographical, industrial, artistic, sentimental and religious conditions. His moral philosophy starts off with great promise, but ends in a confused failure to find any good, standard or sanction more appealing or intrinsically worthy than what he admits will be called "an abstraction," because he persists in holding Reality to be a rational system. Even his work in his special field of sociology is narrow and backward because he has purposely limited himself to the rational, determinate and compulsory aspect of social life, as he expressly admits when he says, "The object of the present work (Morals in Evolution) is to trace the evolution of the ethical consciousness as displayed in the habits and customs, rules and principles which have arisen in the course of human history for the regulation of human conduct."

Now the explanation of Hobhouse's specialism is not far to seek. His philosophic problem was set for him by the clash of the leading contemporary thinkers, Spencer and Green, who also supplied him with his intellectual inheritance by means of which he attempted its solution. Now Spencer and Green, in spite of their differences, unite in a practical-minded neglect of Kant's unknowable or non-rational realm of reality. They both, as it were, work entirely within Kant's realm of appearance. We may note further that the whole intellectual inheritance of accepted and authoritative truth utilized by the modern age in attacking the problems of civilization is derived chiefly from the novel and specialized scrutiny of the determinate function of human reason, as supremely exemplified in the pioneer and epoch-making work of John Locke. This scrutiny in turn is due to the modern discovery of the mind's free control over plastic nature in the development of mechanical industry and science. Accordingly, the mind and especially its pivotal reason and consciousness becomes the central and limited subject of philosophic research. Kant also was in the midst of this general drift, but the deep piety of his early home life kept him from getting swamped in rationalism when he came to metaphysics. In saving science from scepticism he indeed stressed the mind as central, but in saving religion from science, he proceeded boldly to postulate a realm of moral and religious reality behind the determinate understanding.

Continuing our "higher criticism," or the investigation of the cultural basis of Hobhouse's reflection, we may note that his disregard of the indeterminate aspect of Reality is further encouraged by the characteristic problems and issues of the present-day civilized community. The increase in economic production has afforded security sufficient to permit the diversion of attention to the more acute problem of distribution. Although society must still wrest a living from an obstinate and precarious nature, its main task is to control its own determinate organization. Moreover, the social tools it uses are manufactured largely through the modes and processes of experiencing made possible by the present-day sciences of biology, psychology and economics, which cherish the ideal of an exact or determinate organization of human experience.

Furthermore, Hobhouse's vocation is that of editor and teacher, making him a working part of highly civilized and specialized organizations such as London, Manchester and Oxford, a member of the English corporation whose function is controlling a vast complex of politics, law, banking, commerce and manufacture. Such a vocation, regulative and determinate rather than originative and free, masks the indeterminate aspect of life.

In spite of all these influences, a thinker of different character (hereditary, acquired or personal) might possibly have produced a more complete philosophy. But the present analysis of cultural conditions simply means to show that the absence of indetermination in Hobhouse's philosophy can be sufficiently explained by an age-long neglect, and hence does not indicate the absence of indetermination in Reality itself. Indeed, the inadequacy of his interpretation of Reality could be overcome simply by the insertion of that one aspect of indetermination into his thinking.

If the "feeling" of the primitive act of knowledge (the "present" grasped by conscious awareness, or the "nature" found by the understanding) were recognized as immediately continuous with a substantial, indeterminate, unconditioned whole, then the growth and development of knowledge in controlling, harmonizing and elaborating its underlying element would be progressive and real, because rooted in exhaustless Reality. Rational structure would then be no longer identical with the whole of Reality, and the structure's "own inherent nature" no longer a necessary harmony or mechanical structure itself, but the whole boundless, expanding Reality eternally immanent in the temporal progress of structure.

The "inherent reason" of the whole would lie, as before, in its "value"; but since the whole is now recognized as more than its structure, value need no longer be a mere "element within the system... ..not identical with the whole," but may be boldly identified with the whole without improperly assigning perfection to temporal structure. As before, evil would occur in temporal structure, but since Reality is no longer regarded as mere structure, evil would not remain to infect Reality as a substance dependent on the mechanism necessary to ultimate harmony, but would appear simply as a temporal, instrumental *concept* of condemnation on certain elements of the determinate process for the sake of improving indeterminate substance. Value would lie, as before, in the character of harmonious expansion, development causing harmony, and harmony causing development; only now the central harmony would be free and vital, and a better name for it would be "creative bliss." Finally, since "all knowledge arises from experience" and is experience, and experience is now considered indeterminate as well, creative bliss is experience. And since experience is solely within the Self, this Self is the whole Reality whose value is creative bliss.

WENDELL M. THOMAS, JR.

HE AND I

I.

God is God of all, they say,
  God is therefore mine,
May the hope I hope for me
  Be for all the sign—
The sign of that unfailing love
That sheds pure joy below, above,
Forgives all wrong, wipes all tears
And sets all free in His own spheres.

II.

O, how can I forgiveness ask
  If my brother I can't forgive,
If not hope I for life of all
  Where 's my hope in Him to live?
Yea, that alone my God bestows
  That I to others give
O, then alone I live in God
  When all I help to live.
O, gifts of God are gifts for all,
I mind not be they great or small.
Of joy my God, th' exhaustless treasure,
Nor great nor small can God-joy measure.
List! cast not words at Him, my mind,
Not Him but thee thy words will bind.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS

(Departure from the Mogul's Camp: Detention on the way.)

V

The season being now far advanced the climate was beginning to tell on Sir William's health. Using this as a pretext he excused himself from going in person to take leave of the Emperor. The diary, however, hints at another reason; he was afraid to go to the Emperor's tents lest he should be held a prisoner for the Old Company's debts. Whatever the cause, he saw the Mogul no more; all business being conducted through subordinates. It was Rustomji who was sent one day to the Vizier and the next to Yar Ali Beg and Enaett ulla Khan requesting the necessary *dusticks.* Yar Ali Beg declined to act as the Emperor had transferred the Embassy business to other hands, but Enaett on the other hand, continuing his duplicity, informed Rustomji that the Mogul had received Sir William's request that *dusticks* were being duly prepared.

Meanwhile the Ambassador's now obvious failure laid the field open to his rivals. He heard that Mahmud Tuckey and Mahmad Seyd had arrived from Masulipatam. It was believed that their mission was to request Sultan Chambuck to procure a grant on behalf of the Old Company at Surat, and they promised large sums both to the Emperor and the Prince. The general corruption thus illustrated is further exemplified in the case of Eman Couli Beg. This man had been cashiered by the Vizier himself for "bearing false messages," but had been shortly after reinstated for having procured large bribes to him as a reward for stopping Sir William's *phirmaunds.* The Ambassador understood that Enaett ulla Khan had been approached by the Dutch to "get rid of" the obligation of Mocha and shift that burden on to the shoulders of Sir William, if he were willing to accept it.

The Ambasassador was now expecting to leave on the 5th November and on the 3rd, when Rustomji called at the office of the *Holsoe* Enaett Ulla Khan informed him that the *dusticks* would be ready the following day. Sir William had still a sum of Rs. 125,000 in his hands.

On 4th November Captain Symmonds received orders to have the escort with their arms inspected and the tents struck in order that all might start next day, By leaving before the Emperor had quitted his *Laskar* Sir William meant to show his resentment for the treatment offered him by the Mogul and his Ministers. The *dusticks* had been duly drawn up but at the last moment almost Enaett disapproved of that portion relating to Sir William's proposed embarkation from Surat, and returned them for correction. The Ambassador, therefore, informed the Vizier and Yar Ali Beg that he would start at noon the following day whether he had the *dusticks* or not.

So absorbed was he in his preparations for departure that the 4th November passed without notice being taken of King William's 51st birthday which occurred on that date. At Surat, on the contrary, the council celebrated the occasion with great pomp. At break of day, and at noon when His Majesty's health was drunk there were salutes of fifty-one guns, of thirty-one for Princess Anne and the Royal Family, and twenty-one for the Honourable Company. Still further to mark the occasion special dishes were made and consumed.

Next day Mr. Mill was sent to inform Yar Ali Beg what had happened regarding the *dusticks.* While the tents were being struck Yar Ali Beg sent an urgent message requesting the Ambassador to postpone his departure if possible, but Sir William replied that as the Emperor had refused his requests he could stay no longer. He mentioned however, that he had left copies of the three *phirmaunds* to be delivered to Yar Ali Beg in case the Emperor should be disposed to re-consider the matter: and that should the *phirmaunds* be granted after all the New English Company would be prepared to pay the lakh of rupees as promised. It appeared that Yar Ali Beg's messenger, Mahomett Ankoll, had also been acting for the Old Company and had taken a bribe from them. Sir William, therefore, carried out his intention and left at noon, " trumpets sounding and drums beating." That night they encamped near Callon, having travelled two corse.

Next morning the march was continued over hilly country and tents were pitched near an old, ruined castle six course further on. So far there had been no interruption, but next morning Sir William was informed that Mautmut Khan, Dewan of Deccan, was close at hand charged with a message from the Emperor. Within an hour he arrived with an escort of horse. His message was to the following effect that the Emperor having heard of Sir William's departure had enquired of the Vizier and Enaett if they were responsible and had received a denial from both with which he was not satisfied. That there seemed much confusion regarding the *dusticks* supposed to have been granted, as the Emperor had no knowledge of them. On hearing all this Sir William produced the *dusticks* brought by Rustomji from the office of the *Holsoe* " importing King's grant and sign'd by one of ye office but tore afterwards by Enaett Ulla Khan." In point of fact the *dusticks* had been signed by an inferior officer and torn by Enaett, being thus rendered void before being received by Rustomji. Mautmut Khan had, therefore, been sent to inform Sir William that any communications regarding the *phirmaunds* which had caused him to leave the Imperial *Laskar* had been made without the Emperor's knowledge, and the Ambassador was assured that if he would return to the camp they would be granted as desired. Sir William replied that as " ambassador from the greatest King in Europe" he had been persistently misrepresented to the Emperor, and the Emperor to him, by all the ministers save Yar Ali Beg. He further pointed out that he had not been received in audience by the Emperor before his departure and had been informed by two ministers that His Majesty desired him to leave his dominions. Under such circumstances he could not return and as he had given to Yar Ali Beg all particulars concerning the *phirmaunds*, that they might be communicated to the Emperor, there was no need for his doing so. He consented, however, to wait for two days after completing the present day's march that the Mogul might have time to reply. He then marched, in accordance with arrangements, to Gondola, about five corse, through "a sweet pleasant country." Here he saw "multitudes of women passing in closed carriages from the *Lischar* to Bramporee."

On 9th March, he received word through Rustomji that the Emperor had sent him a *serpaw* and that the messenger had orders to use "all intreatys and all faire meanes" to get him to return to the *Leschar*. Failing these, Sir William was not to be allowed to proceed further without the Emperor's order and if he persisted guards were to be set about him. Early next day, therefore without waiting for further communication from the Emperor, he left Gondola intending to march twelve corse to Pelow. Meanwhile, Hamed Khan had been sent to stop him and was now encamped only half a mile away. Somewhat alarmed by this intelligence he ordered the strictest watch to be maintained throughout the column and spies to be sent into Hamed's camp. If it be true, as Sir William believed, that the Mogul had ordered Hamed to arrest his progress, he seems to have made a poor choice of his agent, for spies reported that the discharge of the usual nine o'clock gun in the Ambassador's Camp had filled the pursuers with apprehension. Next morning Hamed passed the Ambassador's Camp and nothing more happened.

Reaching Boleng without further alarm Sir William promptly wrote to the Council at Surat describing the difficulties put in his way before leaving the *Leschar*.

On the 12th after marching 6 corse the column arrived at Çawnsawgen. On the way a letter was received from Gazedee Khan [1] asking Sir William to return to Bramporee. Soon after he had a message from Mia Dawnish promising that if he would return, he (Mia Dawnish) and Gazedee Khan would "swear on the Alchoran" that the Emperor would grant all his requests. To the Ambassador in his then frame of mind delay seemed futile and even dangerous; but to avoid even the appearance of offence Rustomji was sent to say that His Excellency would receive Mia Dawnish next morning at sunrise. Accordingly at the appointed time Mia Dawnish with two others arrived and tried to persuade Sir William to return for a few days to Bramporee and to see the Nabob there. They pointed out that as the Nabob had written and sent him a present, he should return the compliment through a representative if he could not visit him in person. Accordingly Mr. Mill was sent with two other Englishmen and Rustomji to return thanks to the Nabob for his "greate Civility and Respect." They carried with them "6 pieces of ye finest cloath, 100 sword blades, 2 blunderbusses, a paire of pistolls, a clock and watch and Gold mohurs 101." Sir William himself continued his march and encamped on the bank of the river Bimra. The opposite bank seemed very "steep and difficult to gett up" so he thought it advisable to remain meanwhile where he was. There was, however, a deeper reason. He wished by drilling and exercising his men to impress the Nabob's spies with the belief that he could and would resist any attempt at securing his person. He suspected that his guides had been bribed to lead him towards Bramporee where Gazedee Khan was waiting with an army of 100,000 men. At the same time the Nabob's officers were pressing him continually to go there. Keeping them amused, as Sir William puts it, he therefore resolved to cross the river that it might be between him and the Nabob in case of any attempted surprise. Gazedee Khan communicated to Mr. Mill that the Emperor desired them to wait there for seven days, but was informed that they would delay no longer.

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[1] Commander-in-Chief of the Mogul's army. He was also Viceroy of the Kingdom of Beejapur.

On the 14th Gazedee Khan again communicated with Sir William who replied that knowing the ministers as he did he declined to believe that the *phirmaunds* would be forthcoming in seven days. Thereupon Gazedee Khan replied that in that case they could be sent direct to Surat and asked for the directions necessary to have this done.

Sir William now showed signs of yielding. Next day he moved his camp three corse nearer the *Leschar* to facilitate communications. Gazedee Khan and he then exchanged compliments and presents and the former wrote the Emperor asking him to expedite matters. Presents and compliments were repeated on the 16th. The following day Gazedee Khan sent a messenger with fruits and sweetmeats, urging Sir William to go the same evening in boats to be sent by the Nabob. This reawakened suspicion and he excused himself on the prosaic ground that he had a bad cold, which happened to be true. The messenger then asked him to see Gazedee Khan which Sir William refused to do, saying that as he had not paid the Mogul a farewell visit it would not be etiquette to call on his subordinate. He would, however, send his brother to act as his representative.

Once more Mr. Mill and Rustomji were sent with a message for Gazedee Khan to the effect that if the *phirmaunds* were granted in the form desired and sent to Surat within forty days Sir William would give the lakh of rupees he had promised. Meer Baker was on this occasion the intermediary and was promised 10,000 rupees. He intimated that the Emperor wished to offer the King of England a present which, however, he feared could not be ready within seven days. This convinced Sir William that an opportunity was being sought to seize him although he notes, not without evident complacency, that their design was cloaked behind the most deferential courtesies. No day, indeed, seemed to pass without outward marks of Gazedee Khan's apparent favour.

Again on the 19th he was asked several times to visit Gazedee Khan, but declined. An alternative was then suggested. If the Ambassador would only visit the Emperor's daughter, then living at Bramporee, and bow before the throne it would be considered as equivalent to taking personal leave of her father. This also he declined, as well as the presents offered him, protesting nevertheless that he was "leaving amicably and not in disgust."

Every move now on the part of the Mogul officials seems to have been suspected of having ulterior designs. For example Meer Baker came and admired the Ambassador's guns, at the same time suggesting that some of Gazedee Khan's men should be allowed to see them, and enquired if any of His Excellency's carpenters could make one for the Nabob, as that would give him great pleasure. Sir William thereupon ordered one of the pieces to be fired and enjoyed the terror it inspired. He flattered himself that they would thus learn how the English could protect themselves. To Sir William's excited imagination they seemed ever plotting to seize him alive and force him into submission. His life was one of terror. For instance he records in his diary:

> "This afternoon a woman attended w. 5 or 6 Indian servants came to my champ in a close palareheen [palanquin] sayeinge she belongd to y^{e} Mogull and hearinge I was a person of greate quality came herself to make me a present of fruite. I guesad for w^{t} Intention and orderd word to be carryd her y^{t} I recieved neither messages or presents for my parte."

He ordered all presents of fruit, provisions, sweetmeats, flowers or perfumes to be disposed of secretly and even warned the head cook to prevent Indian loiterers coming near the kitchen.

Finally it was decided that Edward Norris should visit the Nabob Gazedee Khan, lest it should appear that an affront was intended. Accordingly Rustomji was sent with compliments and a present of 101 gold mohurs, but was informed that Gazedee Khan could not see Edward Norris that day. So it was arranged that Meer Baker should come to arrange for a visit later on.

At last, on November 20th the long-tried Ambassador lost patience, and refused to listen any longer to the blandishments of Gazedee Khan. He ordered his great tent to be struck and packed on the following day. His preparations for departure were much hindered by the Nabob who repeatedly sent messengers urging him to stay because he feared the Emperor's displeasure. To each of the messengers Sir William presented articles of English manufacture together with 40 gold mohurs. Another source of delay was Aga Peree who was, Sir William believed,

> "The cheife Instrument employd by ye old Company to transact my beinge seizd & securd."

That night at 9 o'clock Aga Peree was discovered in the camp by Mr. Harlewyn and brought under armed guard to Sir William. It was believed that he had been trying to induce the Indian servants to desert their master.

Meanwhile at Surat news of the rupture between Sir William and the Court had produced feelings of consternation. On the 22nd a direct communication from the Court was received by the Governor and communicated by him to the President and Council. This bore that in consequence of Sir William's sudden departure the Emperor had not only taken steps to stop him, but had sent orders to Surat, Bengal and Masulipatam to lay an embargo on the New Company's trade until he should return to Court. The Council came to the conclusion that the step Sir William had taken would bring advantage only to their rivals, since the *phirmaunds* had not been obtained.[1]

At 7 o'clock on the morning of the 22nd Sir William was ready to march, but evidently events were nearing a crisis. He learnt that the Nabob had ordered his forces to stop him, even Rustomji was suspected of trying, in the general commotion, to desert. At last the signal was given and the procession started. It was guarded by four guns attended by eight well-armed Englishmen. Following the guns came twelve horsemen and after them Sir William and his brother in palanquins, both well-armed. Forty members of the English escort under Captain Symmonds marched behind. After proceeding about two miles they were surrounded by a

> "vast number of horse and foot and 24 great Guns drawing against us, and Sevll Khawns upon their Elephants comeing on this warlike expedition."

Sir William and his brother thereupon left the palanquins and placed themselves at the head of their infantry. The oxen and camels carrying provisions and tents had already been seized and the men in charge of baggage carts declined to proceed further. The Nabob's force numbered 50,000 in horse and foot, but no sooner was it seen that Sir William had drawn up his men in a square with the guns appropriately posted, than they withdrew. The enemy tried to provoke a fight by seizing the horses in the rear and pillaging the carts. In one of these small raids a bag of money was carried off but was retrieved by two horsemen who

> "made their way back through 400 men yt attack'd them wth swords, lances and stones, onely by discharging one Carbine and pistoll, which made them all give way but one of ye English ill wounded wth a Lance..."

When it became plain that Sir William did not mean to alter his position, Hamed Khan, brother of Gazedee Khan, and Delal Khan sent messengers to treat with him. They coolly assured the Ambassador that no harm was intended and that the Nabob only wished him to return for two or three days pending the Mogul's answer. Making "a virtue of necessity" Sir William consented, but to his surprise on returning to the site of the former camp found no tents ready for his reception. The Nabob offered another site and a house for the Ambassador's accommodation. But as the latter resembled a prison he again drew up his men in hollow square with the guns posted as before, then taking up a position in the centre of the square, declared their intention "to stay where we were or die on the spot." Thereupon the Nabob ordered tents to be pitched where Sir William should direct.

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[1] *See* Vol. 7, p. 37 of Surat Factory Records.

As soon as he had reached his tent the Nabob sent word desiring a visit from him but Sir William replied that he was indisposed. Sixteen or twenty "great guns" with guards were posted near at hand by the enemy but Sir William decided meanwhile to ignore them. He writes :

> "I was wth ye same freedome to all outward appearance but however cannot deem myself other then prisoner at Large."[1]

About this time letters were received from the President and Council at Surat intimating the probable union of the two companies. Under the present circumstances Sir William considered that union would be providential: he, therefore, endeavoured to gain as much time as possible.

Again, on the 23rd the Nabob requested Sir William to visit him, but after consultation with his brother he declined. Then he sent a vigorous protest against the treatment which as an Ambassador he had received and in a letter to Gazedee Khan accused the Mogul, his master, of a design to keep him detained as a prisoner. To this the Nabob replied assuring him that he was not regarded as a prisoner and that if he would wait a few days longer he would be dismissed with honour.

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[1] Manuchi's version about the Ambassador's detention at Bramporee and the subsequent events is correct in most particulars, though at times he indulges in conjectures which cannot always be accepted. Mr. Roberts, who contributed the chapter on Norris's mission to Sir W. W. Hunter's *History of India* says that Asad Khan was in command of the Mogul's army which detained Sir William ; though he quotes his authority, it appears that Hamed Khan really commanded.

Meanwhile there were serious developments at Surat.

> "On 24th the Governor received orders to arrest the gentlemen of the Old Company and secure their effects at Surat and other places. He sent for Sir John Gayer, who excused himself, Mr. Robinson, Somaster and Blower attended and were all detained prisoners, the Catwall and 50 chckees commanded to seize Sir John and the rest, who, having notice, shut their gates and went to their arms ; all provisions prohibited being sent into the Factory."

This news contained in a letter to Sir William from the Council at Surat was dated 27th November.[1]

Sir William on 25th November sent Mr. Mill to Hamed Khan enquiring if he had informed the Nabob of his promise to pay a lakh of rupees when the *phirmaunds* should be granted. Hamed made no reply until Mr. Mill said that the offer still "held good," then he said he would inform his brother of the matter.

Sir William heard that the Nabob Gazedee Khan with a great number of attendants went out hunting for two or three days. He recorded that a blind man could hardly have much personal pleasure in hunting, and suspected that there was some other reason behind it. Sir William therefore gave orders for "diligent watch and lookinge out," as there were so many spies in and about the camp.

On the 26th it was reported that the Emperor had marched beyond Corylad within 6 corse of Kilnah. He sent out Rajah Jessein and Turlatt Khan against a strong party of the "Rajahs." Turlatt Khan on seeing the enemy fled away but the Rajah Jessein fought them.

> "made ym fly and killed 300 upon wch account ye Empr gave him a Jewell worth a leck of Rupees and tooke away 500 Horse from Curlatt Chawn for his cowardize and gave ym to Rajah Jessein."[2]

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[1] Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

[2] *See* p. 128 O.C. $\frac{77}{50}$.

During this detention all sorts of artifices were attempted to seduce the English servants of the Embassy. One of these was the sending of loose women into the Camp. The attempts, however, all failed as every Englishman in the service seemed resolved to remain loyal ; and Sir William hoped to be able not only to acknowledge their faithfulness but also to recompense them for it.

In the beginning of December Sir William pointed out to the Nabob that already ten days had elapsed without developments and he requested to be informed of the Emperor's intentions. In reply he was informed that Aurangzib had endorsed the "memorials" and ordered them to be sent to the Ambassador : also that he had ordered a letter to be written to the King of England and a present prepared of a "Knife set with diamonds."

It happened that on December 1st. the Nabob's mother died at the age of 70. She was a lady of wisdom and discretion, and Sir William who had now some experience of Muslim funeral rites and the great solemnity with which they were performed acted with diplomatic thoughtfulness. He sent Mr. Harlewyn with two other gentlemen to assist the escort in bringing the body across the river. The Nabob Gazedee Khan and his three brothers walked in the procession, and the Begums sent their palanquins. The body was carried under a rich canopy supported on silver and placed in a large tent one afternoon. The Nabob and his brothers watched beside it till sunset. The body was laid "into Chinam [earth] coffin with sweet oils and perfumes and so preserved." The Nabob twice visited the tent during the next few days and afterwards erected a monument to his mother's memory.

On the 3rd journal records that Narcer Khan Gore with his brothers and relatives came to visit him and cultivate his acquaintance, "and would have tasd some wine."

He made to Sir William the naive remark that

> "if he had some of ye good thinges I brought from England He could afford to have Ten wives more havinge 40 already."

Continual messages came from the Nabob and others to the effect that the *phirmaunds* had been granted and were on the way. In one of these communications the Emperor wished him to include the obligation of securing the seas as demanded before. But Sir William could make no reply. The scrivans who brought this letter hinted to him that the Nabob should be given a present larger in amount than that given to the Ministers at Court. The Ambassador, therefore, offered him 20,000 rupees in addition to the lakh already promised. The same sum was offered to Hamed Khan—both to be paid at Surat on the delivery of the *phirmaunds.* He informed the Nabob on 9th December that if he could not leave for Surat in a few days it would be too late to embark for England that season. Nevertheless, two days afterwards the Nabob informed him that the *phirmaunds* and the present could not be forwarded yet for 20 days.

There was one consolation during these tedious days of waiting, and that was the excellence of their fare such as

> "ffatt beefe good mutton ffowles and variety of good fish as good wheate flower and breade as in England: But ye Indians yt drinke wine and stronge spiritts pay very deare for ym for an Armenian here yt sells ym has 5 Rups. for a bottle of Schyras and Rups. 120 for a black case of spiritts yt cost in England 10s."

The weather was very pleasant,

> "ye midle of ye day pretty warme, but mornings and evenings as fresh and coole as one would desire......"

There were constant demands for more money made by the Nabob's scrivans, and Sir William promised conditionally that they should each receive 200 gold *mohurs*, for their services on his receiving the Nabob's *dusticks* together with the *phirmaunds.* In passing, it may be mentioned that the accumulation, of wealth by high officials under the Moghul Government seems in those days to have been very great, offering a striking contrast to the incomes enjoyed by ministers under the Government of India to-day. For Sir William records in his journal that Gazedee Khan was supposed to have four crores of rupees, that is £4,000,000 sterling.

On the 14th Sir William was asked by Gazedee Khan to send his surgeon as he wished to consult him about his blindness. The cause of this blindness illustrates well the character of Aurangzib. The story as Sir William tells it is as follows :

> Fifteen years before, after the conquest of Golconda Gazedee Khan had become so puffed up with success that the Emperor thought he "trode too neare upon Royalty by rideinge in a Travelinge Throne and began to grow too greate And put a high value on His performances for wch Reason The Emprr tooke an opertunity when he was sick to send one of His own phisitians to Him wth orders secrettly to give him somthinge yt should blind him: upon wch account when ye Phisitian came would needes perswade Him (though His eyes att yt time ayld nothing) yt they had sufferd much by Heate of ye sun and Dust and yt He would give him something to cleare ym : The Nabob knew ye Emprr too well to dispute it wth his phisitian and perhaps was glad to compound for his eyes to save His Life and soe lett ye phisitian take his own method and put some powder in his eyes wch in 4 days time made him starke blind notwithstandinge wch he gave ye phisitian Rups 10,000 for his paines and perhaps glad to come of soe: when any of ye greate men are sick ye Mogull always sends a phisitian of His own to ym wch they dar not Refuse and He always does as he is ordered.. "[1]

Sir William sent his surgeon as desired who reported that one eye might be restored. The Nabob then asked that two expert oculists should be sent from England, "lest one should die on the way."

On 15th December Sir William sent his Rustomji to inform the scrivans that he would never sign the obligation drawn up by Gazedee Khan with regard to the securing of the seas. The same day the President and Council at Surat informed him by letter that the Governor had been instructed to seize the property of the Old Company. That he had, in consequence, sent for Sir John Gayer who had excused himself but sent instead three men from the factory all of whom had been seized. That Sir John still refusing to come had closed the factory doors. Further they reported that the Governor had been ordered to make the Dutch pay for the capture of Mocha ships, but that they had refused, declaring that they would first of all see what the English would do. That six well-manned Dutch ships had arrived at Surat Bar and two more were expected. So that it looked as if they intended to secure their bonds by force. And that Sir Nicholas Waite had taken precautions to protect the New Company's factory. In another letter they informed Sir William that the goods of the Old Company which had been seized came to a value of Rs. 120,000; that spices to the value of 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees had been taken from the warehouses of the Dutch in order to recoup Abdul Gaffore for the damage he had suffered. No steps for reprisal had as yet been taken by the Dutch. Moreover Hussain Hamedon's demand had yet to be satisfied. Sir John Gayer and others were still prisoners. Judging from the miscellaneousness of the news communicated to Sir William by the Council it would appear that the troubles of the former gave them small concern. This seems to have been a reflection of the mind of the whole community whose commercial instincts apparently outweighed their honourable pride.

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[1] *See* pp. 159, 165, 168 of C. O. 77/50.

On the 27th December the Council communicated to Sir William that by the Mogul's orders the Governor was not to allow his embarkation for England when he should arrive at Surat. They further informed him that the Old Company and the Dutch had satisfied the Governor's demands: the former by payment of Rs. 60,000 for liberty to ship their goods and the latter by giving that security for Mocha which the President and Council had first offered themselves and then advised Sir William to give.

Meanwhile the Mogul had been having some military trouble over the siege of the Castle of Kilnah. The Emperor's army had had several skirmishes with the "Rajahs," but with little success. He decided however to approach Kilnah and the army marched up the hill towards the castle. One thousand horsemen under the command of the Vizier remained behind to guard the baggage and the women. Unfortunately they were attacked by a strong party of the enemy, and the Vizier was forced to fly leaving the baggage in the hands of the enemy. The baggage was worth 25 lacs of rupees in "stones and jewells." All these losses were soon recovered. The position of the Mogul's army was now critical as the only way to make an advance was to cross a plain 3 corse long

> "thro wch he must cutt his way before he can move any farther, & yt will bringe him to ye ffoot of a very High & step Hill on wch ye castle of Kilnah stands: ye strongest in ye country. An army of ye sea washings ye Hill on ye other side."

There appeared therefore no probability of taking Kilnah that season and it seemed to the Mogul that the only other alternative was to purchase the castle. After three months the castle was surrendered to the Emperor, who

> "gave a lak & a half of rupees & some other governments to the Commander-in-Chief."

These were evidently given as a reward for his services. In the operations the guns presented by Sir William to the Emperor had proved of much service to the latter. The Emperor had had a narrow escape of being hit by a cannon ball presumably from the enemy's artillery.[1]

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[1] There was an Italian padre in the *Lescher* during the siege of the Castle as Sir William directed Mr. Mills to write to him desiring an account of the "late skirmishes & ye scituation of ye place wht Emprr is doeing ......"

There was now a further demand for money by the Nabob who asked for a payment of Rs. 80,000 which, with the sum already promised, would amount in all to two lakhs. This was to be completed on the delivery of the *phirmaunds.*

As a result of the prolonged delay, Sir William now suspected that it was intended to send him as a prisoner to the Mogul. This was indeed rumoured throughout the *Leschar*. But the unsettled position of affairs in the *Leschar* may be taken to account sufficiently for the delay. Nevertheless, Christmas was observed with the usual festivities. The journal records that several Indians as well as some of the Imperial eunuchs came and walked round the camp in order to see what preparations were being made for the festival Notwithstanding his apprehensions a show of spirit was still made, and Sir William even maintained his interest in the rumours both of Court and bazaar, as well as in man and nature. For example, on 1st January, 1701-02, his journal records the conjunction of the planets Zupiter and Venus, and that in honour of New Year's Day the guards wore their new uniforms, and made a handsome appearance on parade.

Now he heard that the letter and presents for King William were ready ; but the *phirmaunds* were still delayed. That the procurators of the Old Company were not only continuing their bribery but were even spreading a rumour that the New Company were

> "rouges and run away from Suratt supported in this by the Vizir Ruolo Chawn and Eneat Ulla Chawn."

He also records that there was sickness in the *Leschar*, "the water bad, the Mogul lazy his officers disaffected." That Mr. Mill was asked by Cazdee Khan to send some oil of amber for the Begum, and great astonishment expressed that so much oil could be produced from so dry a substance.

The journal has an extremely interesting passage describing Moslem and Hindu feasts of the dead. As the day following was the full moon immediately before the Ramazan

> "is a time of greate solemnity Religiously observed by ye moores for 4 days in wch time both Rich and poore accordinge to their abilitys prepare entertainments for their deade freinds those who ly [lie] buryd neare they carry it & sett it upon their gravs & monuments if they be buryd far of they then give it to a Mullah who promises to send it to ym: sever all moores in my service whose freinds & Relations ly buryd neare this place were very busy all day in making fine cakes to a greate quantity wth sugar & ghee [clarified butter] & preparinge shirbett (wch is put in to a particulare vessall made on purpose) & this evenings carryd ye Cakes & Shirbett & left it upon their freindes graves & monuments: whether ye mullahs or ye Dogs come & fetch it away uncertain; or whether ye moores are soe senslesse to thinke their deade friends eate it I cannot tell."

Sir William goes on to remark that

> "something of this nature is practisd likewise by ye Gentoos for when they have burnt ye deade corps they Rake up ye Ashes in a heape & place a pott of water just by it & there lett it remaine for ye Refreshment of the deceasd & burnt person beleiving he may be dry & nobody presume to touch ye pott of water: If a Gentoo dy before 12 years old they bury ye corps & doe not burn it." [1]

On 5th January the Ambassador remarks that three years ago that day he took leave of his friends in London. So far as his past hopes were concerned the day must have been to him in his turn a "feast of the dead."

Two days later the Directors mention in a letter to the Bay that certain negotiations had been passing between the two Companies which it was hoped would end all their differences. They trusted now that the Ambassador would return as quickly as possible without incurring further expenses, even if the object of his mission were not accomplished.[2]

On 10th January Sir William again heard of the letter to the King of England. It was to be written in "green letters on a gold ground," and that the presents from the Emperor were now ready. But the *phirmaunds* would not be delivered until an obligation to secure the seas had been given. The Nabob assured Mr. Mill that all would very shortly be ready for Sir William's departure.

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[1] *See* p. 183, C. O. $\frac{77}{50}$

[2] Addll MS., 31,302.

It will be remembered that Mr. Mill having been accused of double dealing by the Council at Surat had in his own defence sent a long letter to the Court. In it he pointed out that in all official visits he had been accompanied by Rustomji and that he had used the Portuguese language for his messages which Rustomji translated into Hindustani. In all the most important transactions with Yar Ali Beg, Ruhullah Khan, Mufty and Asad Khan, the terms had been first of all drawn up in English by Sir William and then translated by himself into Persian. Although he had never considered himself a master of Persian yet he considered his translations were faithful and accurate. He further stated that the *phirmaunds*, as desired by the Consul, would not only

"appear defective had it been granted, but also the termes that he had offred to obtain it, very prejudicial to the Company's affairs, & in all probability might be a meanes to embarass his Excy's negotiation."

Ill-luck still pursued the expedition. Mr. Fox, one of the staff, died on the 17th and was buried the following day. This was the beginning of the Ramazan, and Sir William even in the gloom caused by his colleague's death and burial has the following note thereanent.

"This night ye New moone appeard wch Introduced their Ramazan yt beinge ye name of this month & yd greatest fast ye longest & most religiously observ'd yo moores haue, none of ym (if they obserue it right) beinge permitted either to eate drinke or smoake before sun sett duringe ye Ramazan."

As a last effort the Ambassador now offered an additional bribe of Rs. 30,000 to the Nabob Gazdee Khan "to secure him intirely, if possible to our interest." This was on condition that the *phirmaunds* should be delivered within a month and that he (Sir William) should be enabled to leave the Camp in seven days' time. He gave 50 gold *mohurs* to each of the scrivans who brought word from the Nabob to the effect that the letter and presents were on their way from the *Leschar* and that the Embassy would be able to depart with honour in a few days' time. After consultation, Sir William sent Mr. Mill to the Nabob to assure him of his gratitude for what had been done and to offer him 2,000 gold *mohurs* as a parting present. Nothing more of importance occurred during January.

(*To be continued.*)

Harihar Das

WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, EDINBURGH, 1925

I attended in July, 1925, at Edinburgh, the second biennial Conference of the World Federation of Educational Associations. I was one of 1,222 persons interested in Education, 511 from Scotland, 91 from England, Wales and Ireland, 435 from U.S.A. and Canada, 8 from Central and South America, 89 from the continent of Europe, and 88 from Africa and Asia. India ranked fourth in numbers among the countries represented, coming next to England.

I have chosen the Conference for my subject because I think people in India and Burma should know about the W.F.E.A., and because it offers opportunities for reflection on a number of educational problems in which we are interested. The World Federation of Educational Associations was founded, and held its first Conference in 1923 at San Francisco. Its object is to promote international goodwill and peace through international co-operation in education. It was decided in 1923 to hold conferences biennially. Other resolutions in 1923 were connected with interchange of teachers and students between different countries, the unification of scientific terminology, the dissemination of educational information, a universal library bureau, and international university, reform of text-books and courses likely to perpetuate national prejudices, systems of character training, the universal observance of "Goodwill day," international co-operation against illiteracy, and removal of educational disabilities of women and children in rural and impoverished areas.

The method of the 1925 conference, which lasted a week was to form sections to discuss Pre-School, Elementary, Secondary, Adolescent, and University education, Teacher Training, Character Training, Health, Illiteracy and International relations. Most of these sections forwarded resolutions to a Committee which revised or abridged them for the approval of a final plenary meeting. Besides the work of the sections, there were a number of public luncheons and meetings at which specially distinguished speakers delivered addresses, and representatives from various countries were invited to give "messages," either directly in English or through interpreters. I shall first describe certain general impressions which the Conference left on me; then the public speeches which interested me most; then the work of the sections; lastly, I shall attempt to estimate the importance of the Federation and its future possibilities.

Though I had learnt from experience in Burma how men of good will can be balked of their common aim by racial, sectional and linguistic misunderstandings, my first impressions of the Conference were coloured by disappointment at the same hindrances. Never have I felt more keenly the tragedy of the tower of Babel and the obstruction caused by useless repetition, by failure to keep to the point, and by the grinding of individual axes. That was, I think, inevitable under the circumstances, and a common impression with all of us who had the objects of the Conference deeply at heart. But after listening for a week to Americans, English, Scotch, Belgians, Chinese, Japanese, Bohemians, Italians; Hungarians, Poles, Chilians, Danes, Swedes, Finns, Siamese, Burmans and Indians, I retained happier, truer, and more permanent impressions of the power of common interests to bring men together and of the readiness with which so many nations had combined for a common aim; of the hearty hospitality and practical idealism of Scotch teachers and educationists; of "the immense reservoirs of goodwill and friendliness that exist among the nations;" and of the similarity of educational problems throughout the world. The last was perhaps my strongest impression. The irrelevant discourses which so often interrupted discussion during the deliberations of the sections, were mostly due to linguistic difficulties. Delegates with an imperfect knowledge of English brought written speeches too often containing statistical statements of educational institutions in their respective countries, and insisted on reading them aloud without any regard to the trend of the debate. When reminded by the Chairman that they were exceeding their allotted five minutes, they often bowed to him blandly but proceeded unperturbed to the bitter end of their carefully prepared " Messages."

We heard far too often that Edinburgh was " the Mecca of Education," and " the Modern Athens." At one public meeting where the " Modern Athens" had appeared so often as to become a joke, the last speaker, an Athenian, who spoke through an interpreter and had not understood the earlier speeches, ended by informing us that he was proud to greet Edinburgh as the Modern Athens. He sat down intrigued and slightly ruffled at the amusement caused by his graceful and serious peroration.

The sections all tended in varying degrees to become immersed in common problems not always definitely connected with the objects of the Conference, and two of them failed to submit any resolutions for the plenary meeting. I did not regret this tendency, the main object of bringing us all together to discuss matters of common interest was successfully achieved, and the wide range of our discussions made them all the more interesting and profitable.

I saw and heard many great educationists with whose names and achievements I had long been familiar, amongst them Sir Michael Sadler, Professor J. J. Findlay, Sir Robert Blair, Dr. P. J. Hartog, Professor Patrick Geddes, Professor Charles Sarolea, Dr. Georg Kerchensteiner. The names of many other delegates must be as well known in their own countries as the above names have long been in England.

Many of the most important speeches were made to the Sections and I will deal with them later. I will mention here what specially interested me in the public speeches.

Mr. A. O. Thomas, President of the Association and Commissioner of Education for the State of Maine, was the most ubiquitous figure of the Conference. He spoke frequently, and always sanely and to the point, but what impressed me most was his burning zeal for brotherhood, his inexhaustible suavity, and success in pouring oil on waters which threatened to be troubled. He told us one evening that he wished he could go on hearing the "messages" of delegates till next morning, and I believe that was literally the truth.

Professor Patterson, Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Edinburgh University and Ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland, boldly claimed that Edinburgh had better Secondary Schools than any city in the world, and after long experience of American students warned America that she needed better Secondary Schools. He whimsically criticised a rule (which sometimes proved impossible of observance) that neither religion nor politics were to be discussed at the Conference. "You are not to talk religion, you are not to talk politics, and one of the things you are profoundly interested in is the formation of character. It looks as if you were to have a conference on military affairs and you were not to touch on the cavalry arm or on the question of explosives."

Sir J. Alfred Ewing, Principal of Edinburgh University, warned us to have faith in education, but not to expect too much of it. "It cannot be trusted even to make the present world safe for democracy or democracy safe for the world." Speaking of higher education he advocated freedom of opportunity for all really worthy, but warned us that higher education could not and should not be general. To try making it so would be futile. "Attempts to make intellectual mediocrity keep pace with distinction fail dismally and expensively; they keep back those who should help to forge ahead and are a disservice to those who should be left behind."

A paper sent by *Mr. Y. P. Tsai*, Chancellor of the National University of Pekin, was read to us. He gave an interesting account of the ancient Chinese curriculum and its limitations, and described modern educational movements in China, including those for mass education and libraries. He stated, to justify his misgivings at the activities of Christian mission schools and colleges (between five and six hundred thousand Chinese students now attend them), that Chinese educators are "almost wholly against the teaching of religion to young children; if we respected the rights of our children we should educate them in such a way as to give them the knowledge and mental habits required for forming an independent opinion." There is food for thought in that argument. He had equally interesting things to say about the significance and treatment of political unrest among students in China.

China was strongly represented at the Conference and *Dr. P. W. Kuo*, President of the South-Eastern University at Nanking, and a Vice President of the W. F. E. A., told a public meeting about the campaign against illiteracy in China. The two best stories were about recent illiteracy campaigns, one in China, the other the "Moonlight School" movement in Kentucky, connected with the name of *Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart* who spoke at a public meeting. I shall refer again to these stories when dealing with the section on illiteracy.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton was beguiled into attending a public luncheon at which he got only lemonade to drink. I wish they had given him beer, for to judge by his speech he was not very happy in our company. He posed as a solitary Englishman to educate whom it had been found necessary to convene all the nations of the world. He pleaded that some small remnant of him be left, "a kind of remnant of that original individual love of liberty which is not, I think, altogether valueless in the world."

Mr. W. F. Russell, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, gave at a public meeting what I found by far the most interesting speech of the Conference. His subject was " Who shall mould the mind of America ? " He dealt with the growing tendency of State authorities to dictate what is to be taught in Schools and Colleges. The danger was well expressed by another speaker in the University Section who complained that the men who paid the piper were no longer content to call the tune but expected to be allowed to compose it as well.

Mr. Russell sketched the history of curriculum control by external authorities in his country, and traced the development of two principles on which they have acted, one negative, the other positive : not to teach anything about which people seriously disagree ; to teach propaganda of any kind loudly demanded by public opinion. At first parents and churches, then small local Education Committees, often controlling no more than one school, decided what was to be taught. Then came a steady trend towards State control which for a long time did not interfere with the curriculum beyond requiring the approved school subjects. By 1904, however, two important prescriptions were common : no sectarian religious teaching was allowed, and the bad effect of alcohol must be taught. Thus were established that " prohibition of religion, and religion of prohibition," which are distinctive features of American education. The State had begun to apply the two principles of excluding the controversial, and of including propaganda demanded by public sentiment. They have continued to apply them with increasing frequency, till schools are bewildered, and the world recently laughed aloud at the tragic farce of Deighton, Tennessee. As positive prescriptions due to aroused public feeling we find the teaching of " safety-first," fire prevention, thrift and kindness to animals; insistence on English as the medium of instruction; teaching the American constitution, and other devices for "Americanisation" such as the recent attempt to force all children into public schools in Oregon. Among exclusions of the controversial we find the German language expelled from all curricula, other foreign languages expelled from the elementary school, and finally the strict prohibition of modern science teaching in all its schools and colleges by the State of Tennessee. Here we have the common principle pushed to absurdity. Can it go even further? Mr. Russell fears it may. He points to Europe where partisan politicians are everywhere using school curricula for partisan ends. In Italy, for instance, the ministry of education has prescribed a curriculum where Fascist propaganda obtrudes itself in every subject. The prospect of State control for children and teachers is alarming. For this reason, Mr. Russell prefers local control with all its disadvantages. The problem in America and many European countries is how to secure for children a training free from the prejudices of the narrow teacher, the ignorant parent or the aggressive nationalist, and from the wiles of the political agitator. In England we have partially solved this problem (Mr. Russell did not mention this) by giving schools nominal freedom as regards curricula, though actually they are coerced to an undesirable extent by universities. In Burma we are by no means so free from the danger as to be justified in ignoring it. Our Vernacular school curriculum is prescribed by the State, our Secondary school curricula were until the other day prescribed rigidly and may be so again, nor can we feel assured that State control will be influenced by purely educational considerations. It has usually been so in the past. But during the war an Imperial Idea Committee revised curricula with avowedly propagandist objects, and under the Reforms there may be a movement for political and nationalist propaganda in schools. We seem moving at present towards the English solution of nominal freedom, and thereby risking even stronger indirect University control over schools than exists in England.

Mr. Russell could offer no solution for the problem in America but hoped much from the influence of voluntary Teachers' Associations. He offered them a useful word of warning. "Some Teachers' Associations have for their primary aim the welfare of children. Teachers' Associations grow strong in proportion as this end is approached." I wish our recently formed Teachers' Associations would take this warning to heart, and fight not only for improved professional status but for freedom and stability of curriculum, in order that we may know what we have to teach, be free from the nightmare of having to teach what cannot or should not be taught, and in a position to make secure plans for present work and future progress.

I shall now deal briefly with the work of some of the sections. Each session began with a ten minutes' address by a well known authority after which a five minutes' time-limit was set. Most sections were provided with lists of topics suggested for discussion which were generally but not closely followed. Even when speakers ignored the special aims of the Conference, they were nearly always interesting.

The Pre-School Section.

Its resolutions were reduced by the Resolutions Committee to two:—

"In view of the supreme educational importance of the first years of childhood, provision should be made in every educational system for a type of education suited to the needs of that period. Such education, whether given in the home or in special groups, should include the formation of desirable physical habits, mental attitudes and character traits in an environment conducive to freedom, health and joy of living."

"Such pre-school education should be in charge of persons specially trained for the purpose in both mental and physical ways, and should be carried on in special groups in close co-operation with parents. Public funds should be available for such education and every encouragement should be given to research in this field. Speaker after speaker testified to the benefit of expert pre-school training between the ages of two and five years.

"What," asked Miss Frodsham, Inspector of Nursery and Infant Schools, Manchester, "may be said of the little child of five years of age who has had a pre-school training course? A normal child who has had a three years' course of Nursery Education from the age of two to five years leaves it well equipped for the work that follows. His body is healthy, with well-grown straight limbs; he is alert and vigorous; he holds his head upright, breathes through his nose, balances his weight correctly, walks and runs gracefully. He is reasonably obedient and has acquired a large number of good habits, and is, therefore, to some extent, already master of himself.

He takes an intelligent interest in his surroundings, loves work, and has a growing power of concentration and ability to go on steadily with a piece of work when left to himself. He is learning to be self-reliant, and his persistent cry of "Let me do it myself," leads him to gain many and valuable experiences.

He is developing some control of his emotions, and may be expected no longer either to be a "cry-baby" or to exhibit temper when he cannot have his own way. He can share toys, and play without quarrelling. His attitude to others is friendly and trustful. Through his awakened love of pretty things he is able to take care of flowers, to treat toys properly, and finger a picture-book carefully. His speech is fluent and distinct. He is growing in consideration for others, and his very early impulse of "me first" is beginning to give place to "others also," and on rare occasions to "others first." He is now ready for the infant and junior School Course.

Our children can only have their early years of childhood once. The pre-school period is of incalculable value if rightly used."

It was, I am glad to say, admitted that it need not be institutional even for children from poor homes if they have plenty of air and space to play in and interesting things at home. It is for the children in crowded areas that nursery schools are urgently needed all over the world. More than one speaker recommended learning to read before the age of five. I think the change of expert opinion on this subject during recent years is a wise change.

Here in Rangoon, we have far too few intelligently conducted Kindergarten Departments even in our Anglo-Vernacular and English Schools, and none in our Vernacular schools. I know from personal experience that where such a Department exists it incalculably improves within a few years the level of intelligence of a whole school. Teachers specially trained in Burma for Anglo-Vernacular Kindergarten work are nearly always used for work in higher primary classes and rarely for the work they should undertake. The youngest children in all our Vernacular Schools, and in 90% of our Anglo-Vernacular and English Schools, are subjected to old-fashioned school discipline, sit at desks for hours daily, and are denied the physical and mental activities and training essential for their healthy development. The evidence of speakers at the conference shows that parental opposition is often the chief obstacle to reform of these conditions. Parental opposition will certainly be an obstacle here, and that is why I am glad of an opportunity to mention in public the urgent need of reform in our methods for educating children in the lowest classes of schools in Burma.

The Elementary Education Section.

The Plenary Session passed resolutions based on the recommendations of this section (1) in favour of general observance of Goodwill Day; it also decided to consult affiliated and other associations on the most suitable date for its general observance. The 1923 Conference decided on May 18th, the anniversary of the Hague Tribunal, and Goodwill Day has been for the past three years observed on that date in certain countries. It is not suitable for India because of the hot-weather holidays.

(2) In favour of teaching geography, history and training in citizenship not only from a national point of view, but also from a modern sociological and international point of view.

(3) In favour of exchange between countries of school children's letters, school-work, and of children of suitable ages. (The Resolutions Committee had removed the 'suitable' from the recommendations received from the section, and it was restored at the Plenary meeting after warm protests that parents ought not to surrender even temporarily to foreigners the responsibility for their own children at the elementary stage. I heard a Scotch mother behind me loudly protesting: "They shall no have my weans to play aboot wi'!")

(4) In favour of preparing text-books for elementary schools descriptive of child-life in many lands and setting forth simply the best achievements of each nation.

(5) In favour of plans for travel and interchange of teachers. The discussions in the section on the observance of Goodwill Day caused what journalists euphemistically call a "breeze." Some patriotic Britishers and Canadians

claimed that they already observed Empire Day on May 23rd, in the spirit of the proposed Goodwill Day and hinted that a further observance was unnecessary. They got the inevitable answer from a Scotch trades unionist who temperately indicated the obvious difference between imperialism and internationalism, and deplored the old traditions of imperialism, and national aggression. The crisis was temporarily postponed by a decision to appoint a Committee on Goodwill Day, but soon re-appeared in the next discussion on school courses. *Professor Satyamurti*, M.L.C., of Madras University, reminded us that the world did not consist of Scotland and America; he deplored the arrogance of European nationalism, and especially the verse in our National Anthem in which God is asked to "Confound our enemies." The Chairman attempted to pour oil on troubled waters by reminding Professor Satyamurti that the objectionable verse is never used now ; but an English school-mistress rose to defend the teaching of patriotism, and told us that the Union Jack had a grand history, that she was going to teach her children about it as long as she lived and that, if she was not to be allowed to teach it, she would no longer teach. Our trades-unionist again reminded us that the British Empire had done harm as well as good to the world, on which the Chairman remarked that it was bulking too largely in the discussion, and succeeded in putting an end to an argument which had somewhat marred the harmony of the session, but served to remind us of the difficulties of our project of brotherhood.

In the agenda for this section we were actually asked to consider whether "in the study of international contacts, it was advisable to include a study of such special movements as the codification of international laws, treaties and agreements, courts of international justice, League of Nations, etc." Many delegates, including myself, protested against this absurdity. We can best teach "World Civics" to elementary school children through the general curriculum, especially geography and history, and by getting them to perform social services and to feel themselves members of a community.

The section was addressed by Sir Mark Hunter and another representative of the Simplified Spelling Society of which he was then Secretary, but passed no resolutions in connection with it.

Secondary Education.

The Plenary meeting passed two resolutions on the recommendation of this Section.

"That the World Federation of Education Associations encourage co-operation with affiliated associations in the promotion of such aids to education as universal biography, visual instruction and the use of the motion film, particularly when of an educational and scientific nature, literature and language study, particularly in the modern field, æsthetics, and training for citizenship as possessing great potentialities for the development of an international outlook."

"That the World Federation of Education Associations prepare a statement of the ideals which should obtain in history and history teaching. Such statement should emphasize the necessity for an impartial treatment of international intercourse. A frank admission of shortcomings should accompany the claim of services rendered to the cause of human welfare in each country. In proceeding from national to world history emphasis should be laid upon the progress from conflict to conciliation."

The Secretary of the Section has thus summarized the trend of its discussion.

"The discussion in this group centred mainly round the curriculum. It appeared to be the general opinion of the meetings that every subject could and should be taught from an international point of view. Languages become increasingly necessary in a narrowing world. National History should not give place to World History but should find its culmination therein. A sounder, worthier teaching of Geography is needed to elucidate this history and to give a more exact knowledge of the peoples of the world. Science, which is unquestionably international in its scope, should be so taught that the pupils realise the contributions to human welfare that have been, are being and will be made by all nations. Last but not least, Art in all its forms was recognized as a great power for the encouragement of a real sympathy between nations.

The responsibility of teachers was continually emphasized and it was recognized further that the first essential was the development of this international view-point in the teachers themselves. To this end it was suggested that various books of reference be prepared, but it was urged that the most important factor was the fostering of the exchange of teachers in all parts of the world."

Adolescent Education.

This section only met once, no resolutions were passed and there was little discussion. It considered only indirectly the general question of normal adolescence, its trials, and special needs. Its attention was concentrated on a problem peculiar to England and other over-populated and industrialized countries, the problem of those known officially in England as "Young Persons" who have left school and for whom work cannot be found. There were 200,000 such young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 in England last summer "generally reaching adult life without ever having been broken in by employment," and most of them without healthy interests or occupations. The obvious solutions are to raise the age for compulsory school attendance which now stands at 14, or to insist on attendance at continuation schools for some years after leaving school. The 1918 Education Act attempted to provide these solutions, but the Local Education Authorities could not or would not meet the cost. Sir Robert Blair, late chief educational officer of London County Council told us the tragic story of the establishment of compulsory day continuation schools in certain London areas in June 1921 and how they had to be closed in July 1922, owing to economy propaganda, the selfishness of parents, and the refusal of neighbouring educational areas to co-operate. He warned the section that "to extend indefinitely the old type of secondary school would be in effect not to provide the means of a liberal education but to multiply vocational schools of a technical character." That is a warning we might take to heart here, for our Anglo-Vernacular Schools are largely vocational schools for the overstocked clerical profession. He showed that voluntary continuation schools would not solve the problem because they flourish only when employment is brisk and languish during depression. He discussed the alternatives of extending the ordinary school-leaving age to 15 and of providing compulsory day continuation schools and gave good reasons for preferring the latter. Definite vocational education can best be given in day-continuation schools to adolescents who have begun real work. Postponement of the school-leaving age to 15 will only postpone the evil. "Boys and girls of fourteen years of age have already spent nine years in elementary schools. New experiences, internal and external, are beginning to crowd in upon them. Wage earning is attractive. They are longing for new adventure. They desire to break with conditions they regard as fit only for children. The change from school to industry is severe and should be eased by the support of sympathetic teacher advisers who must necessarily make a much closer study of industrial conditions than is possible for the elementary schoolmaster." The problem of the English adolescent is inevitably a problem of vocational education. We heard two eminent authorities on the subject. Mr. A. P. Laurie, Principal of the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh, told us he was tired of hearing attacks on vocational education and reminded us that the education in our Secondary Schools and Universities is vocational, and that vocational education is the only kind of education a student will put his back into. He poured scorn on successive chiefs of the English education department. "They seem to have no ideas beyond picking up clever little boys and girls out of the working-class, and by means of bursaries and secondary schools, lifting them out of the working into the middle class. This is called equality of opportunity. As long as lawyers, doctors, divines, accountants and schoolmasters are properly trained for their job, the man of the pick and shovel, the saw and the hammer can go hang. He, the only really necessary person on whom we depend for our daily bread, who, if he is not efficient, brings down our whole trade and commerce with a smash, is not worth the trouble of teaching his job properly."

More constructive advice came from that wise old father of modern vocational education, Professor George Kerschensteiner of Munich University. He told us how he reorganised the continuation schools of Munich in the nineties, and thus set an example followed by Scotland, England, Sweden and U. S. A. He laid down the following guiding principles for organising adolescent education.

(*i*) When dealing with youths occupied in work for which they can feel a vocation, centre the educational arrangements round this work.

(*ii*) See to it that the scope of the educational arrangements is not limited to this particular kind of work, but that the pupil's interest in his work is widened so far as to embrace activities of social significance, *i.e.*, see to it that the man is not swallowed up in the worker.

(*iii*) As soon as possible, organize the educational institution to be an active community controlled by common social values and aims.

(*iv*) When the adolescent's occupation is of a kind that no man can have a vocation for, let the education be based on social, æsthetic or religious interest, whichever may be present in the youth, and make any of these the source of development in his mind.

(*v*) In the last case, that of the fourth group, only a personality sacrificing itself in love can help to educate them.

(*vi*) The way to manhood lies through citizenship.

The last three principles refer to the unfortunate disappearance of the skilled craftsman, and to the amount of unskilled work which in these days of mass production, has to be done by somebody. They should be applied, I think, in this country to the education of adolescents destined for cooly-work and casual field labour.

Illiteracy.

The plenary meeting passed no resolutions in connection with this section but those who attended it heard interesting stories and discussions.

The Chairman of the Section was Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart, who started, fourteen years ago, a campaign against illiteracy in the rural state of Kentucky, where illiterate men and women met on moonlight nights in schools and classes. The movement spread rapidly to other backward rural areas and to the cities. In Alabama some years ago a certain judge who often had illiterate people before him used, after sentencing them, to suspend the sentence on condition that the criminal learnt to read and write within a year. The American campaign has been conducted with extraordinary success and vigour.

The results and methods used in China by the National Society for the Advancement of Education have been even more striking. Eighty per cent. of the 400 millions in China are illiterate. Owing to the number of Chinese literary characters, and the difference between the spoken and written language, it used to take over ten years to learn to read and write. The spoken language is now used for literary purposes, and to be found in newspapers, magazines and books but even so it takes four or five years to learn to read and write it. Further simplification was necessary, so a selection has been made of one thousand characters which stand for the most useful words. People who master these thousand characters can write letters and read ordinary periodicals. They have diplomas publicly presented to them by mayors or other prominent people. So far in 1925 two million such diplomas had been presented in two years. Slogans are much used both in China and America: "No illiteracy after this generation," "Another world is coming, war on illiteracy," and the success of the campaign in these two countries has clearly been due to aroused public opinion.

Speakers from India dealt with the difficulty of arousing public opinion there. Mr. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces, attributed to its absence the comparative failure of the United Provinces Compulsory Education Act in the twenty municipalities where it had been adopted. He was warmly urged to adopt propaganda rather than compulsion, and promised to carry back the message, but expressed doubt whether propaganda in itself would achieve the desired results in India. It is a pity that there was no delegate from the Punjab where public opinion against illiteracy has been successfully aroused in recent years, and an illiteracy campaign has met with considerable success. The section would have been interested too, in the Y. M. C. A. rural reconstruction work at Ramanathapuram near Madras, where successful experiments in time-saving methods of teaching illiterates have been made in night schools. The March number of "Young Men of India" gives an account of them. Mr R. V. Gogate, an Indian from Harvard University, and a Director of the Association, dealt with the need for a respectable standard of literacy. He stated that in India literacy is taken to mean ability to write your name, but that in Japan it means ability to read newspapers intelligently, and understand national affairs.

To my mind the most interesting discussion was on the benefits resulting from literacy. The American and Chinese slogans suggest that it will lead to a millennium, one American speaker went so far as to imply that it would solve the question of war and armaments. A Scotch schoolmaster pertinently asked whether it was the illiterates of Germany, France and Britain who had recently plunged the world in war. He was told they were spiritual illiterates because they did not know their fellows, and he then took spiritual illiteracy for his text and spoke of the spiritual illiterates of Scotland who read only racing news and the columns of Sunday papers which chronicle murders and divorces. That needed saying for it is useless to teach people to read unless you teach them to read wisely and provide them with reading matter. An illiteracy campaign is of little use unless followed by a library campaign and also, though this is less important, by organized facilities for further instruction. The Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab stated in his last annual report that, as a result of the illiteracy campaign in that province, a stage had been reached at which the organization of library facilities had become a matter of paramount importance. It is very many years since that stage was reached in Burma, the most literate province in the Indian Empire. These reflections lead us naturally to Adult Education, and I shall next consider the section which dealt with this subject.

(*To be Continued.*)

J. P. BULKELEY

JOURNALISM IN INDIA [1]

In my first lecture I attempted to trace the influence of the Indian National Congress on the development of journalism in this country; in this lecture the World War and its consequences will form the staple of my evolutionary theme, but before spinning the texture of another chapter in the history of progress—what Herbert Spencer would have called another stage in "the passage from unorganized simplicity to organized complexity"—it is meet to hark back to an event arising out of the Anti-Partition agitation which can justly be claimed as a triumph for Indian journalism. 'The arm and burgonet' of that campaign against bureaucratic reaction was the editor of "The Bengalee," the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, who organized public opinion with a skill as rare as it was efficient. The Minto-Morley Reforms may not have been the absolute consequence of the passionate revolt against the Partition of Bengal, yet it is undeniable that the upheaval caused by Lord Curzon's obduracy and Sir Bamfylde Fuller's superciliousness hastened the gift of constitutional pottage which though meagre in all the essentials of representative government still gave promise of a more substantial measure by acknowledging the right of Indians to enter into the hitherto sacrosanct Councils of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. Two years later the Partition, Lord Morley's "Settled Fact," was annulled by King George V himself at the Royal Durbar at Delhi, and Eastern and Western Bengal were reunited to form one presidency under a Governor in Council. It was a famous victory won at great cost, for Calcutta was dethroned from her long metropolitan ascendency among the cities of British India, in order that Delhi might become the official capital of the Government of India. It looked like bureaucratic revenge for the failure of coercion of the worst type to muzzle the Press and intimidate Indian Nationalism. The Indian Press of Bengal bore the brunt of the battle with dauntless courage. "The first in glory, as the first in place."

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[1] Second *Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture* delivered at the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University, on September 16, 1926.

It was in these boisterous years that the Associated Press of India was born, and as it has revolutionised the news half of journalism, a short sketch of its origin and growth is essential to my thesis. In the old days, before the Curzon Durbar in 1903, the three English-owned dailies of Calcutta maintained Special Correspondents at the headquarters of the Government, their busiest time being when those headquarters were at Simla. This was a tactics of self-defence against the monopoly of "The Pioneer," then to all intents and purposes the official organ. It was served by a capable journalist, Howard Hensman, who was *persona grata* to all the *dii majores*, civil and military. Hence it came about that the front page of "The Pi" was practically an official gazette the contents of which were pirated and broadcasted on publication. At Simla "The Englishman" was represented by Mr. A. J. Buck; "The Statesman" by Mr. Everard Coates; and "The Indian Daily News" by Mr. Dallas who depended for tit-bits from the departmental arcana on his Bengalee assistant, Mr. K. C. Roy, the cleverest news-ferret and "scoopist" Indian journalism has produced. He is much more now, but that is another matter. Single-handed none of these pickers-up of unconsidered trifles was a match for Hensman, so it occurred to them to pool their resources to prevail against the common foe. Buck and Coates were the first directors of the Associated Press with Roy a kind of maid-of-all-work. When the news agencies were organized in all the important cities of India, Roy demanded a directorship which was refused; he promptly cut away from the old moorings and laid his own with the aid of his faithful henchman U. N. Sen. The Associated Press could not withstand the opposition of the

Press Bureau, and the directors capitulated on the conditions imposed by Roy who, they had to acknowledge, was the mainspring of the comprehensive machine. Later on Coates was bought out by Reuter, and now the foreign and domestic intelligence published by all the "live" dailies is supplied by the same agency which also enjoys a certain amount of State patronage and support. Recently a diminutive Richmond has appeared in the field to challenge its title. He flaunts a banner with the bold device, "Free Press." His success depends upon the support he gets from the Indian Nationalist papers which are more numerous than those English-owned, but not so wealthy. He is making a brave struggle against tremendous odds and, if only as a corrective of the growing officialism of the older agency, deserves to succeed. The Associated Press has destroyed the old monopoly of "The Pioneer," but at the same time it has smothered original enterprise and adventure in news-getting both at home and abroad. The rates for Press telegrams and cables are still so high that even the most widely circulated papers are capable of no more than merely spasmodic efforts to supplement the service of the general intelligencer, which on the whole deserves our applause for 'a brave office set up to enter all the news of the time and vent it as occasion serves.' Its story might appropriately borrow for its caption the title of Ben Jonson's merry comedy "The Staple of News." From this bare outline it is not hard to appraise the influence of Mr. K. C. Roy in the development of the modern newspaper in India. He has never been an editor, nor, in spite of the important part he has taken in politics since the Montagu Reforms' came into operation, has he been a political writer of eminence; nevertheless his instinct, it would be no exaggeration to call it genius, for the staple of news has proved a more potent factor in bringing Indian journalism up-to-date according to Western notions than any editor in the last forty years.

Another event which calls for more than a passing word before I come to the World War was the foundation by Sir

Pherozeshah Mehta of "The Bombay Chronicle" in 1913, with Mr. Benjamin Horniman, late of "The Statesman," as editor. Sir Pherozeshah's original intention had been to purchase "The Bombay Gazette" to counteract the sinister influence of "The Times of India" which under the editorship of Lovat Fraser, had assisted Mr. Harrison, I.C.S., Accountant-General of Bombay, to manœuvre a caucus to hurl him from his *gadi* in the Municipal Corporation of whose liberal constitution he was the real author; Mehta was frustrated by Sir Frank Beaman, one of the directors of "The Bombay Gazette," who still lives to oppose with a vehement pen the aspirations of Indian Nationalists. Undaunted by the rebuff the great Parsee leader set to work to collect funds to start a brand new daily paper, which after the fashion of Minerva should issue from Jove's head fully equipped. When I met him at the Royal Durbar at Delhi in December, 1911 he told me he had at last obtained the wherewithal and asked me to get him a manager whom he could send to London to purchase machinery. I did not know then that it was his intention to offer me the editorship ; he seems to have taken it for granted that I would come at his call whenever it was made, a far from unreasonable presumption considering how closely he and I had been connected during my career in Bombay. In the absence of a direct offer I fixed up, on my return to Calcutta from Delhi, with the proprietor of "Capital," the late Mr. Shirley Tremearne, who appointed me editor, a position I still hold. In March, 1912 came Sir Pherozeshah's call which alas I had to refuse. He was deeply hurt for he never wrote to me again, and he died before I could see him and explain. I have not ceased to regret this sad ending of a friendship of thirty years. We were both the victims of those cross purposes which the spiteful Fates are so fond of contriving to plague poor mortals. Under the guidance of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Horniman, an accomplished journalist, made "The Bombay Chronicle" a power in the land; when the guidance and restraint of the wise and moderate Gamaliel were withdrawn, Horniman's tempestuous politics brought him into conflict with the Government of Bombay which went to the extreme of deporting him in April, 1919. The Fourth Estate gasped, but refrained from active agitation against the tyranny. Horniman's friends in the Legislative Assembly more than once attempted to force his recall from banishment, but the Government was inexorable. Some months since the exile defied the powers of darkness by returning without leave. The Government took no notice in spite of public ovations at Madras and Bombay. "The Public Danger" of seven years agone was treated like an extinct volcano, which was worldly wise.

The Horniman episode is a painful reminder of the peril of the journalist in India who dares to be outspoken in his criticism of the Government, but candour compels the admission that there is far more liberty allowed to the British-owned newspapers than to those edited and owned by Indian Nationalists. If Horniman had remained a member of "The Statesman's" staff it is highly improbable that he would ever have been an object of the tender attentions of the Police. He was the reputed author of the articles headed "Hardinge must go" which appeared in "The Statesman" when the capital was changed from Calcutta to Delhi. They were "hot stuff," but nothing happened to the paper in consequence. As the editor of an Indian-owned paper which propagated an extreme nationalism he was, from the official point of view, in a different position entirely. The Indian Press has always been and is to-day what the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea called a "great instrument of propagandism," hence the vigilant antipathy of the Bureaucracy in marked contrast to the fraternal tolerance extended to the British section. Professor Rushbrook Williams in "India in 1919" indicates the reason for this difference when he writes "Now, as a rule, if at any given moment the administration of India is seriously attacked in the Indian-edited Press, it can rely upon a certain measure of support from the English-edited

Press." This is putting it very mildly, for the order to-day is that if an administrative measure is attacked by the Indian-edited Press it is the duty of the British-edited Press to defend it with all its ordinance.

• In the Dictionary of National Biography it is recorded of Lord Metcalfe that his greatest service to India in his short administration of a year as acting Governor-General was the Act of 15th September, 1835, which removed the vexatious restrictions on the liberty of the Indian Press. It would fill a bulky tome simply to enumerate the measures taken by many of his successors to undo the noble work of that "able and sagacious administrator, of unimpeachable integrity and untiring industry." Only the other day the Government of India forged a new instrument of torture which even "The Statesman" could not approve, and forced the compliance of the Legislative Assembly by a strangle-hold. In Calcutta itself last month it was the timely interference of the High Court that saved two important Indian editors from being imprisoned under the new Security Act for publishing what two such learned judges as Rankin (Barrister) and Chotzner (Civilian) described as a legitimate piece of news. Lord Metcalfe, in reply to a deputation which waited on him to urge the emancipation of the Indian Press, said: "We are not here in India merely to maintain order, to collect taxes and make good the deficit; we are here for a higher and nobler purpose, to pour into the East the knowledge, the culture, and the civilisation of the West." To that sentiment the Bureaucracy has given lip-service in the intervening 90 years, but in its heart it still regards a free press as an unmitigated nuisance and an abomination in the sight of the Lord. The only journalist it has any use for is the sycophantic fugleman of its own brave deeds and shining virtues. I admit with delight that in my long career as a journalist in India I have met scores of Government officials, many of them Civil Servants, who have expressed the highest admiration of journalistic independence especially when it issued in cultured satire and spicy comment. 'I happened to be at Bombay in the Yuletide of 1917 when Mr. Samuel Montagu and Lord Chelmsford were there taking notes for their intended Reforms. I lunched with a Departmental Secretary one day and the conversation veered round to official relations with newspapers. After condemning Horniman's politics most heartily my host admitted with the same warmth that it was a tonic to read his articles. Later on, a very much higher official, when discussing a certain ultra-official British editor, exclaimed : " He is very proper you know, but oh so dull." Yet none of these broad-minded officials would condemn the vicious system which seeks to emasculate the Press in India as an organ of public opinion. I wonder how long it will take the Bureaucracy to realise that the most ingenious way of becoming foolish is by a system.

Readers of the articles on " The Press in India " which my friend Mr. S. C. Sanial contributed to " The Calcutta Review " more than 15 years ago, which articles I am glad to hear are to be republished in book form shortly, will remember that in the early days the Anglo-Indian Press was the victim of official *zoolum.* In April (a fateful month for journalists in India) 1823, Mr. John Adam, the Acting Governor-General, expelled from India Mr. James Silk Buckingham, the proprietor and editor of the " Calcutta Journal " because he dared to censure the abuses of the East India Company's administration. The paper was suppressed. These high-handed proceedings entailed great pecuniary loss, and redress was recommended by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1834, but it was not until long afterwards that the East India Company acknowledged the injustice of the proceedings by granting Buckingham a pension of £200 a year. I am afraid there is no such luck in store for Mr. Horniman, who, game to the end, is about to start another daily paper in the Indian Nationalist interest. *Ardentum frigidus Ætnam insiluit.*

A far-reaching consequence of the World War in the polity of India was the reform of the legislatures by inoculating them with the germs of representative government. It was a reward for the fine service to the Empire, in the days of its heaviest trial, by India's soldiers and India's taxpayers. It is a commonplace of military science that modern warfare no longer consists of isolated engagements between professional armies; it means the mobilisation of all the resources of the nations in conflict. India grasped the fact and rose to the occasion with splendid loyalty and enthusiasm. In the general effort the co-operation of the Indian-edited Press was in the last degree edifying, considering the temptation and provocation it had received to sulk in a Cave of Adullam. The Bureaucracy for the first time in all its history went out of its way to propitiate this 'great instrument of propagandism.' Publicity Boards were established in diverse centres and clever officials were appointed to be nice to the men who not so long since were regarded as scum by the Secretariats. Tours were organised to enable Indian journalists to see what was going on at the battle fronts, and in many other ways their importance was officially flattered. I shall not easily forget the apotheosis of Panchcowrie, the gallant editor of "The Nayak," in the quadrangle of Government House when Lord Ronaldshay was King of Bengal. That was a halcyon time for Indian editors and although of short duration its memory is sweet. There was however even then a fly in the ointment and strange to say it was discovered by the first British journalist whom the Government of India had knighted for meritorious service to the State through the medium of his paper. Sir Stanley Reed, editor of "The Times of India," with sublime abnegation offered to place his talents and experience at the disposal of the Government for six months, free, gratis and for nothing, to be employed in the all-important work of publicity and propaganda. The offer was accepted with warm gratitude by the Viceroy, and he was put in charge of the Publicity Bureau at Simla. The enthusiasm of the Head of the State was not shared by the permanent officials offended by this slur on their omniscience. They took a mean revenge by denying the interloper the status and powers of a Secretary to Government which were the essentials of efficiency and success. Nevertheless Sir Stanley Reed worked wonders with an inadequate equipment and proved to the chagrin of the sun-dried bureaucrats that given an equal chance he would have made just as good a statesman in India as Lord Northcliffe or Lord Beaverbrook in England. This brings me to a paradox which is bound to tickle the risible nerves of my audience. The British editor in India cannot become a favourite with officialdom unless he supports the Government through thick and thin. His motto must be "The Government right or wrong;" on the other hand although he be the most egregious whole-hogger he cannot hope for a place in the Councils of the nation. An Indian editor can legitimately aspire to membership of the Viceroy's Council or to the ministry in a local Government, not so the Britisher. The reason why I cannot tell but the fact remains. Nay, the invidious distinction goes further. Indian journalists have been nominated by the Government of India to the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, but British journalists look in vain for similar preferment. "The Statesman," it is true, has recently provided from its staff two legislators, one imperial, one provincial, but both were elected by the European constituency of Calcutta, not nominated by the Government. The limit of official appreciation of the British journalist is a seat in a Municipal Corporation. He is good enough as a bumble, but as a mugwump—bah! Yet such is the unreasoning and dog-like fidelity of the British Press in India to-day that it shows no resentment but carries on the good work to which it has put its hand, namely hot refutation of Indian criticism of administrative abuses. Robert Knight was the last of the *advocati diaboli* of the old regime.

An unexpected result of the War has been a reduction in the number of British-owned and edited daily papers and more than a corresponding increase in those run absolutely by Indians. In Calcutta, for instance, we had before the War four of the former class, namely, "The Englishman," "The Statesman," "The Indian Daily News," and "The Empire." There are now only two, "The Indian Daily News" having been absorbed by "Forward," the Swarajist organ, and "The Empire" having become an Indian property. At Bombay "The Times of India" stands alone for the British outlook. At Madras "The Madras Mail" occupies the same position of solitary grandeur. The slump in trade which followed close upon the hectic boom excited by the Armistice is the chief reason for this contraction. Advertisements fell off and circulations decreased and as a British-edited paper is a much more costly business than its Indian counterpart the weakest went to the wall. In politics the British daily papers have come to represent one stereotyped view, so that more than one of them in any centre is an expensive superfluity. The conditions of the Indian Press are markedly different. Politics and religion are so mixed that points of view are numerous and likewise the instruments of propaganda. Indian papers are not all self-supporting, but that in most cases is a secondary consideration with their owners. On the other hand no British individual or company would dream of running a paper which was a perpetual tax on the purse. It may seem a rash thing for me to say, but it is my considered opinion that with the evolution of representative government, which cannot be checked in India any more than in other parts of the Empire, the influence of the Indian Press in politics and administration will increase at the expense of the British Press. The future is for the Indian journalist, his training is therefore a paramount question which the universities of India will have to tackle in earnest. English is not only the common language of your intelligentsia —I might without exaggeration call it their mother tangue—it is also the common bond of Indian nationality. Without any intention to belittle the value of the vernacular press which caters for the commonalty, it seems to me self-evident that Indian journalism which employs the English language as its vehicle of expression will be the journalism that will count while home rule is being fought for and when home rule has been won. Now it is a truism that Indians who are ready writers of expressive and grammatical English are mostly alumni of the universities ; when the system of secondary education in this country is revolutionized it may happen that there will be a number of young men who by gaining the school-leaving certificate will also have acquired that facility of writing idiomatic English which is a *sine qua non* in an Indian journalist's equipment, but that time is not yet. For a generation and more the universities must be the recruiting grounds for the Indian Press. In its history lawyers have taken the foremost place ; they are still in the forefront to-day. Whatever may be said of their casuistry and their propensity to forensic dialectic it must be accounted to them for grace that they have established and maintained a very high literary standard in editorials bearing a close resemblance to the fine prose of the mid-Victorian Press in England. It is pretty certain that as the development of democracy in India increases the power of the Indian Press journalism will become more and more attractive to young lawyers especially as the remuneration is bound to keep pace with growing prestige. In the circumstances would it not be of the greatest value to the cause of Indian Nationality to raise journalism to the dignity of an academic career ? If journalism could be added to the system of Post-Graduate Studies of Calcutta University I feel sure, to put it commercially, there would be a cent. per cent. profit on the stern persevering promotion necessary to overcome the obstacles in the way. Journalism would become a profession drawing to itself young men of brains and ability, and that is what is wanted in India. "The suggestion of a school of journalism at Columbia University in the U.S.A. came from a man of the people, Pulitzer, a journalist, who had to work for his own education and in spite of the handicap made good to a phenomenal degree, yet he was shrewd enough to realise that there should be a better system, so that those who were to take up a career fraught, when that career was a downward one, with so much peril to the public, should be trained under auspices that would tend to develop character." I quote Mr. George Henry Payne, the historian of journalism in the U.S.A. We have no Pulitzers in India, but there are among us millionaires to whom it would be a fleabite to endow a chair and found a school. They could not give of their abundance to a nobler cause. In my long Indian career of forty-three years I have had to do with hundreds of Indian journalists, many of them intimately associated with me in the conduct of a newspaper. What struck me forcibly was the vast difference between the leader-writers and the working reporters whose business was the collection of news ; the former were men of culture with scant knowledge of technique ; the latter devoid of culture but with a keen nose for a "story" and an instinctive sense of display. This contrast is also to be found in an English newspaper office but not to such an amazing extent. The English reporter, as a rule, tries hard by study and observation to improve his style and obtain a grasp of affairs, not so the Indian reporter who is content to go on to the end of the chapter as he began by pelting the long-suffering news-editor with valuable information in execrable grammar. The conditions which chiefly contribute to the perpetuation of groundlings in the lower ranks are the manuscript eloquence of our public men and the vicious co-operation of penny-a-liners destroying originality and initiative. The only way to suppress these evils is to make journalism a profession instead of a trade as wooden and dishonest as a *modi's* or a *kyah's*.

I have refrained, gentlemen, as much as possible from loading these lectures with personal reminiscences of journalists, English and Indian, who figure prominently in the long vista of departed years which is the solace of my autumnal mood, for had I once begun I could not have ended within the compass of a fair-sized book. I may say at once that my memories of them are all happy. Rivalry and competition, hard knocks and swift retribution, I have experienced in abundance, but no sting to leave a fostering sore. The prevailing spirit has been regimental loyalty which might lead to temporary conflict but at the same time engendered mutual respect and professional pride. Had I my time over again, with a fairy godmother to give me a choice of vocations, I would plump without hesitation for journalism which is the only life in spite of its strange vicissitudes, its bitter trials and its glorious poverty. To quote the American poetess, Mary Clemmer,

> To serve thy generation, this thy fate.
> "Written in water," swiftly fades thy name ;
> But he who loves his kind does, first and late
> A work too great for fame.

PATRICK LOVETT

DENIAL

We live through sorrow but we soon forget ";
hey say who never felt a wordless grief.
We live, 'tis true, but in our inmost hearts
The unforgotten sadness lives on too,
Forever fed by thoughts that cannot die.
We suffer, and the wound lies hidden from
The sight of men, but does it ever heal ?
Can life resume its vagrant way because
The days pass by and we with them endure ?
We live through sorrow but do not forget.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The Meaning of Progress.

"Progress," say the modern philosophers, "is a human concept." It is often conceived in different ways by different individuals. Robertson defines progress as a "rise in the quantity and quality of pleasurable life." He opines that this national betterment can be secured by economic guidance.[1] Progress is necessarily understood in the sense of positive achievement and the attainment of a certain standard in which objective excellence and subjective happiness should be combined. The march and direction of humanity towards this goal is considered as progress. Man is a progressive animal with power of infinite adaptation and continual adjustment in his innate nature slowly but decisively modifiable.[2] Bertrand Russell shows us that "the instincts of man can be modified by intelligence." A man's impulses are not fixed from the beginning by his native disposition; within certain limits they are profoundly modified by the circumstances and way of life. The instinctive part of character can be modified or made malleable to a large extent, by beliefs, by social circumstances, by institutions and above all by the suggestibility of tradition, the work of individual minds.[3] Modern sociological thinkers vigorously maintain the possibility of improvement. They have turned from the argument of " total depravity " to that of " universal capacity." Thus the present-day economic writers have a complacent belief in the doctrine which teaches us that most men are normal and by acquiring certain characteristics through education, enlarged opportunities, social and political, and by providing a better environment they can secure progress.

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[1] J. M. Robertson, Economics of Progress, p. 2.

[2] Mr. and Mrs. Walt Whitman, Heredity and Society, p. 59.

[3] See Bertrand Russell, Principles of Social Reconstruction.

The old fatalistic attitude of the past and biologists' belief in hereditary influences have been given up. Prof. Punnett, Mr. Lock and Karl Pearson say that hygiene, education and acquired character due to the influence of environment and economic changes cannot react on the quality of the children born to those who enjoy these improvements. A short account of their views can be obtained by reading Prof. A. C. Pigou's Wealth and Welfare Part I, Ch.. IV, pp. 52-65.

The Evolution of the Concept of Progress.

All the Grecian philosophers considered that " man is bound to decay." Civilisation would inevitably degenerate in course of time. Horace says, " time depreciates the value of the world." The only solitary exception was Thucydides, the eminent Greek historian who attributed the social and material progress of the Greeks of his day solely to the increase of wealth. The speculative Greek minds could not develop the concept of progress. The Roman writers, notably Seneca,—Rome's greatest historian—upheld the theory of degeneration and implicitly believed in the doctrine that " time is the enemy of men."

Middle Ages.

During the Middle Ages people had great faith in the revelation of God and divine intervention. The idea of progress could never be conceived under such incongruous assumptions.[1] Friar Bacon could dimly realise the conception of progress but his ideas as conveyed to us in his OPUS MAJUS point only to the necessity of scientific reform and revolution in secular learning. Mediaeval pessimism was of a darker hue than the Greek pessimistic thought. Under such circumstances even the vaguest possible idea of progressive reform could hardly be dreamt of. So obsessed were their minds by divine authority.

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[1] See St. Augustine, The City of God.

Age of Renaissance.

It was only in the last days of the Renaissance Age that Bodin had come forward with the idea of progress but even he did not consciously formulate any definite theory of progress. But great credit is due to him for the signal service he unconsciously rendered by discarding the Greek theory of the degeneration of man. He also gave quietus to the mischievous doctrine of the immutability of human things so ably expounded by Machiavelli. Francis Bacon in his NEW ATLANTIS definitely recognises that human knowledge progresses at a slow pace. Progress in the modern age depends on the ability to avoid all errors of the past. By increasing scientific knowledge man can overcome nature and increase his comfort and happiness. He was the first intellectual individual who dared to recommend that happiness on earth ought to be the aim of every individual person and that it was a desirable end to be pursued for its own sake. Co-operation among mankind would assure this result.

Modern Age.

Auguste Comte was the first person to formulate the doctrine of economic progress. Several other writers in France, Germany and England have also commented on this doctrine. Slowly but surely the idea of economic progress gained ground. It was considered as a duty that mankind owes to posterity. It has been accepted as the central and guiding idea of collective life in the civilised communities. The "improbability of man," the final and superlative product of cosmic evolution, can be brought about by social processes involving adaptability to environmental conditions and better co-ordination of life activities. There is, however, at present perennial faith in human progress acting as a motive power towards further developmental changes. Every nation believes that its primary duty is "to move on," and achieve further reconstructions and realise new ideals. Devotion to the cause of progress commonly known as "philoneism" is slowly and steadily gaining ground at the expense of those who dread all change and tend to be "misoneistic." Thus there is a consensus of opinion that man is bound to progress as time rolls on. It is unanimously understood that human progress denotes the forward movement not of one particular section of society but of all its members. It is not necessarily to be conceived as moving in a straight line at a uniform rate, but it may be, oftentimes, shifting and uneven and at varying speeds. To borrow a military metaphor "it resembles the nibbling attrition methods of modern trench warfare rather than the mere spectacular big drive."

Factors contributing towards Progress.

Social philosophers, however, differ in their opinion as regards the causes that bring about this progress and onward march in social, economic and general progress of humanity. Auguste Comte who was the first systematic writer to discuss the theory of progress, attributes to religion, the sole influence which acts on the social state tending towards its betterment. Guizot in his History of Civilisation gives an admirable account of the European social institutions from the days of the Roman Empire to that of the French Revolution. He traces clearly the action and reaction of the social institutions on the politics of the State but in spite of his masterly analysis he does not deduce the laws of progress in general. Buckle in his learned thesis on the History of Civilisation regards all civilisation and progress as a result of science overcoming a host of negative and purely obstructive natural forces such as climate and soil. He fails to recognise that it is the result of the conscious co-operation of many factors as science, government, religion, literature and the like. Carlyle attributes all human progress to the work of those Great Men whose lives are the summary of universal history. He pleads for the correct understanding of the spiritual laws of man —his duties, obligations and the like. Herbert Spencer reduces the theory of progress of mankind, of animal and vegetable kingdom as well, to the definite law of evolution which sees that "progress is from the simple to the multiform from the incoherent to the coherent, from the indefinite to the definite." He, however, does not realise the beneficial effects of immediate human and concrete influences on the march of progress. Walter Bagehot, while discussing the problem of social causation came to the conclusion that the progress of man requires the co-operation of all men for its development. Man can progress only in "co-operative groups" —if not of tribes and nations. Members of each social group should be similar enough to one another to co-operate easily and readily. Real co-operation depends on a felt union of heart and spirit. This can result only when there is a great degree of real likeness in mind and feeling however that likeness may have been attained.[1] Darwin who discusses human progress in the Descent of Man practically endorses Bagehot's conclusions and emphasizes the following points: the importance of mutual fidelity and unselfish courage and the great part played by sensitiveness to praise and blame in developing both unselfish courage and fidelity. Hegel, the German philosopher, in his Philosophy of History attributes all progress to the movement of thought in its varied spheres, spiritual, scientific or practical. All progress is due to the Ideal in man—the spirit of the right, the good and the true. Without denying the influence of this mental factor, it has to be pointed out that mere willing for a higher ideal, if social and material conditions do not permit its attainment, would fail to achieve any real progress. The real brake on progress is the social and material conditions of society.

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[1] Walter Bagehot, Works, pp. 212-214.

According to Crozier "religion, science, material and social conditions unite to forward and promote the general progress of man." All progress is due to the harmonious co-operation of these positive factors. "Progress is a plant and if one were to expect a rich and vigorous fruitage from the plant, not only should the quality of the plant be taken into consideration, but the condition of the soil as well should be favourable to vigorous growth. Ideals are but the result of mutual and social surroundings. Mere moral exhortation would be in vain. All progress and civilisation can be attained by a double movement—the upward rise of ideals and the lateral expansion of Justice and Right—which can be secured by widening the area for intellect and character, the wider extension of liberty, and equality, the wider diffusion and equitable distribution of wealth. Social inequality can be levelled by advancing culture. At present the money ideal, *i.e.*, money together with intellectual and moral qualities rules the world. But this is only a temporary ideal which will soon cease to exercise its fascination and the existing mental and social conditions would pave the way for a higher social regime than any that history has yet recorded."[1] Not only has this idea of progress been definitely established but the causes that enable man to achieve progress and higher civilisation with the evolution of time have been ascertained and laid down with much foresight, ability and accuracy.

Economic Progress.

The prophets of progress may be classified under four headings, namely, the materialistic, biologic, institutional and the ideologist. Although there is not much water-tight logic in this classification, it serves the purpose to differentiate economic or materialistic progress from biologic, institutional, moral and intellectual interpretations of progress. Although this specialisation of study is absolutely necessary for a correct understanding of the economic activities leading to the growth of the human individual, it should not however be forgotten that there is a constant interplay between the economic, religious, political and educational activities. In the midst of these surroundings and subject to the play of these several forces, the human individual reaches his perfection and attains his final stage.

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[1] N. G. Crozier, "Civilisation and Progress."

Signs of Economic Progress.

Prof J. B. Clark [1] enumerates the following features as the indices of verifiable progress in the economic field, *viz.*, increase in population, increase in capital, changes in methods of production, changes in economic organisation and changes in consumer's wants. Prof. Schmoller [2] analyses the concept of economic progress under the following headings, *viz.*, certain psychologic-economic premises, technique of production, increase of population, and storing up of capital. Amongst the criteria mentioned by him there is a blend of the economic with the psychological outlook on life which is so characteristic of the German intellectuals. J. S. Mill [3] speaks of " the progress of civilisation " as a factor tending to counteract the law of diminishing returns from land. In the " progress of civilisation " which he described as a " somewhat vague expression " he included the progress of agricultural knowledge, skill and invention, improvement in the means of communication, mechanical improvements which have no relationship with agriculture, inventions, and lastly improvements in Government and every kind of moral and social advancement which react upon the efficiency of agricultural labour. Evidently Mill must have had in mind the factors leading towards economic development and material welfare of the people while he was defining his famous phrase "the progress of civilisation."

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[1] J. B. Clark, Essentials of Economic Theory, p. 203.

[2] Prof. G. Schmoller, Grundiss, etc., pp. 653-775.

[3] J. S. Mill, Principles of Political Economy.

Arnold Toynbee[1] incidentally sets down the following factors of economic progress while accounting for the prosperity of the English working classes during the 20th century, *viz.*, Free Trade permitting cheap and steady prices of food and steady employment and wages, factory legislation, trade unions and co-operative societies. Toynbee himself points out that the last three factors are dependent on improved education. Dr. A. Marshall, the doyen of the English school of economists, points out how improved education permits the law of increasing returns to counterbalance the law of diminishing returns.[2] The art of writing and printing enable people to transmit their ideas to the next generation and mould their environment.

> "The world's material wealth would quickly be replaced if it were destroyed but the ideas by which it was made were retained. If however the ideas were lost but not the material wealth then that would dwindle and the world would go back to poverty and most of our knowledge of mere fact could be quickly recovered if it were lost but the constructive ideas of thought remained; while, if the ideas perished the world enter again on the Dark Ages.[3]

Elsewhere he says, "a niggardly policy of education is a mistake from the purely commercial point of view."[4] Education assists industry, "by securing properly trained diplomatic and consular services, for every country can be helped or hindered industrially by the excellence or feebleness of the information regarding economic questions and trade opportunities obtained by its foreign emisaries."[5] "Education," says Huxley, "is the instrument by which men of brass can be picked out from the men of silver and gold and placed on the rung in the economic ladder to which they were by nature suited."[1] Dr. Marshall condemns emphatically retrenchment in educational expenditure and says—

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[1] See Arnold Toynbee, "Industrial Revolution," Ch. XIV.

[2] See Dr. A. Marshall, Principles of Economics, 5th edition, p. 318.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 780.

[4] See Dr. A. Marshall, "Industry and Trades," p. 98.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 102.

> "There is no extravagance more prejudicial to the growth of national wealth than that wasteful negligence which allows genius that happens to be born of lowly parentage to expend itself in lowly work. No change would conduce so much to a rapid increase of material wealth as an improvement in our schools and especially those of the middle grades provided it be combined with an extensive system of scholarships which will enable the clever son of a working man to rise gradually from school to school till he has the best theoretical and practical education which the age can give" and the economic value of "one great industrial genius is sufficient to cover the expenses of the education of a whole town."[2]

Thus Dr. Marshall clearly shows us how industry, trade and commerce can be benefited largely by a well-developed system of education affording opportunity to the low-born people to develop their own inherent capacities. It is impossible to dwell on the monetary income or returns arising out of education. Education can diminish crime, secure military efficiency, advance economic progress, achieve equality of opportunity, promote scientific invention, civil peace and contribute much towards social contentment. Above all there is a heightening of human capacity "enabling the individuals to realise their own possibilities." Collective action and public expenditure can make a nation literate and secure all the above advantages. It is true that rudiments of historical, scientific and literary knowledge can be instilled into the minds of the educated but it alone can create the background of ability, incentive and capacity to progress in the economic field.

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[1] See "Critiques and Addresses: Essay on Administrative Nihilism, p. 6.

[2] See Dr. A. Marshall, "Principles of Economics," p. 12.

From the above quotations it is apparent that economic progress is a complex phenomenon involving many factors. Economic progress can arise out of a myriad different roots—moral, physical, mental, personal, social and industrial. It is like the flow of a river fed by many tributaries, the main stream itself consists of improvements in the material conditions of man, the tributary branches adding to the volume of the river may be social, religious, political and mental improvements. An attempt will be made in the following pages to apply the test formula quoted above to the case of India. It would not be possible however to discuss fully all the tributary causes contributing towards the economic progress of this country. But the one factor that retards our society's progress is the undue concentration upon the political situation with the result that a check is administered to all internal activities of growth and change. We render unto the Caesar of Politics what we ought to pay to the God of Economics. Just as in Western countries excessive concentration on wealth-getting has sapped the vitality of all spiritual progress, so also our concentration on political discussion and conflict with the bureaucracy are responsible for diminished economic progress and the blindness to real affairs at our own door. The German Scholar Fichte sorrowfully admits that the pushing, progressive, materialistic activities of his day have undermined the thoughtful, introspective and philosophical activities of his previous age.[1]

Economic Progress in other Countries.

A recent writer has analysed the different stages of economic progress in the western countries.[2] Originally it was theocracy and custom that ruled and dictated the economic impulses of mankind. The Israelites lived under the dominion of the Mosaic theocracy; as did the Assyrian and Babylonian people under the Sumerian and Accadian systems of divine ordinances. During the second stage custom crystallised into caste. England under the Feudal system is a typical example of a country passing through the second stage of economic progress. The prominent features of these two stages are the suppression and limitation of competitive impulses and the linking up of all institutions of Church and the State against popular forces and the repression of such feelings. The inevitable revolt against these controlling forces usher in the third era of economic progress. Competition is the characteristic feature of this stage. Individualism runs riot, breeding haughtiness, luxury and irresponsible power. As a protest against these evils combination is resorted to.[1] Competition, combination and elimination are the chief features of these present stage of economic progress of the Western countries. A few of the far-seeing humanitarian thinkers [1] and economists aim to secure economic justice so that the present industrial civilisation which has already tended towards the physical, mental, moral and cultural degeneration of man might not result as it has already done in some of Western countries.

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[1] W. H. Dawson says we know what the old Germany, *i.e.*, the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Kant and Fichte gave the world and for that gift the world will ever be grateful; we do not know what modern Germany, the Germany of the overflowing barns, has to offer beyond its materialistic science and merchandise. The German system of education......is far from being equally successful in the making of character or individuality. See the Evolution of Modern Germany, p. 15.

[2] See G. B. Dibble, "The Psychological Theory of Value," pp. 226-229.

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[1] The elimination of competition is the prevailing feature in the present-day world economics. The movement for trusts, mergers, and co-operation in marketing among producers will continue and largely control the economic machinery of society. The Argentine meat industry is controlled by an American and a British Trust. The U.S.A. sugar interests control the sugar supplies of the world. The export of the foodstuffs from Soviet Russia are conducted through organisations jointly controlled by representatives of producers' co-operative societies and of the Soviet Government itself. The U.S.A. farmers are organising politically to secure economic ends and a national policy to regulate prices in their interests. In Denmark the agriculturists' co-operative movement has been very successfully working. The Canadian wheat farmer has instituted a system of co-operative pools to control the marketing of wheat. In New Zealand the organisation of the producers to secure the control of export trade is the official policy of the country. In Australia there is the Export Control Act to enable the control of the exports from Australia (Butter and Dried Fruit). There is a series of mergers of the Shipping Companies which aim to bring volumes of tonnage into a few hands. Some of the Dominion Governments are taking active part in encouraging the orderly and efficient marketing of their export trade. The series of combinations effected during the after-war era in England, Germany and the United States of America are carefully enumerated by Morgan Rees in the "Trusts in the British Industry." The attempts to eliminate competition are not unknown in the past. (A. Abraham, Social England in the XIXth Century, I, 52.) See also the Report of the Committee on Trusts—(CD) (9236-1919). Gustave Cassel rightly observes, " Free competition does not govern the

The Present Position of India.

The incalculable factor in India is religion and the crystallisation of custom. India is just on the threshhold of the era of economic freedom and competition does not prevail except in a few instances. Co-operative thinking, scheming and acting is necessary for the final stage of

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modern exchange economy. In large and important spheres of our economic life recent developments have abolished it. Competition still plays a very important part in modern economic life but the forms it assumes are totally different from the idea of free competition. The very idea of free competition is obscure. The negative definition of it as the absence of any regulation or organisation excludes the essential conditions on which the modern community succeeds in certain sphere in creating a competition that helps us to realise the principle of cost. The idea of free competition is quite irreconcilable with a matter of great importance in the modern economic life—the economic superiority of the large business. In cases where this superiority makes itself felt free competition is logically bound to bring about its opposite-monopoly. Such an issue cannot be prevented without forms of organisation acting on economic life in severely regulative fashion which would therefore mean the end of free competition. (SEE, The Theory of Social Economy, Vol. I, p. 126.)

[1] See the works of Max Nordeaux and Edward Carpenter. These point out how industrialism of the age is degrading human personality and the wonder and mystery of life has almost vanished under the dull and leaden influence of industrialism. Writers like Bellamy have descanted on the glories of industrial and mechanical civilisation. But the majority of the writers incline to the opinion that the extravagant hopes of general prosperity arising out of machine civilisation have not been realised. It is now recognised that it is not more life that is required but a better life and human lives should not be moulded into so many patterns but the right to development on unfettered lines should be allowed to all persons.

The recent war has also led to an intensification of the evils of the present machine civilisation. It is no longer considered as the "banner-bearer" of economic progress. Human values are being once more recognised. The psychological novelists from the time of William Morris and Maxim Gorky to the present day are now following the footsteps of Carlyle, Ruskin and Matthew Arnold in denouncing the machine era with its crowded and feverish life. A more complete humanity is being aimed at as a better ideal than the neglected personality of the industrial era.

economic progress. It has to be ushered in by economic co-operative organisations, productive, distributive and financial with Swadeshi as their slogan. The activities of the Bengal Social Service League, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Depressed Classes Mission, the Bengal Health Association, the Anti-malarial Society, the Vivekananda Society, the Seva Samities, the Mahila Samities, the Bharat Stri Mandal, the Bani Bhawan movement are all steps in the right direction of social service. But we have to carry forward this spirit of co-operative service into the fields of economic and political activity and revive once more the old corporate activity which the Indian Society has once displayed in economic, political, social and religious matters.

India's economic progress is chiefly dependent on economic adaptation, on improvement, reconstruction and painstaking thought engineered chiefly by such Associations as the above. "Man," says Hocking, "is the only animal that deliberately undertakes while reshaping the outer world, to reshape himself also."[1] Man adapts himself to the natural institutions in several ways either "by chance, by blind drifting, by coercion, by pacifistic surrender, by co-operation, by religion and by intelligent planning." But economic progress to be of permanent value can only arise out of conscious creative evolution and intelligence employed in reshaping human conduct and economic institutions after a careful survey of the economic problems, their analysis, diagnosis, inference and hypothesis, testing and its verification. It is not personal adaptation alone of every individual that is required but the policy of the government needs reorientation in the light of new requirements.

The path of economic progress is not an illuminating one as the data have not been worked out sufficiently clearly. Economic progress can be achieved by a simultaneous advance in the following directions—improvements in agriculture, development of industry and commerce, construction of irrigation, roads and other productive public works, adequate improvement in public health and physique of the people and lastly the ensuring of free and compulsory primary education of a useful character to enable people to solve their bread and butter problem. All these can be arranged under the three-fold heading of science, industry and social efficiency. This triple progress is the panacea for our economic disorganisation and mal-adjustment. Economic adaptation or rebirth is conditioned to a great extent by the social efficiency of the people which would enable them to locate the wealth and work it up successfully, thus solving the economic problems of bread, shelter, clothing, ignorance and disease. Our economic progress thus depends on our capacity to respond to our environments, to heal the self-remediable evils of social organisation and without these essential pre-requisites no definite economic advance can be made. Given the necessary resources to develop her resources, the necessary political freedom to reconstruct a real democracy out of the decaying communal fabric of society, the power of organisation to overcome the forces of retrogression and obstruction as displayed in communal strife, India will not only come to herself in a short time as a peaceful, well-ordered and prosperous state but will once more become a great civilising agency as well as an element of weight and importance in the concert of world powers.

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[1] W. E. Hocking, "Human Nature and its Remaking."

India's Economic Outlook.

All orientalists couple China and India together and draw several points of resemblance. Both the countries are "considered weak in the application of science, weak politically and in scientific, commercial and technical education, primitive in sanitation, stationary in agriculture and undeveloped in industry." Both countries possess the advantages of practically inexhaustible supplies of raw materials, reserves of cheap labour, but they are both unable to develop into leading industrial nations of the world due to the lack of communications, unscientific treatment of raw materials and the generally inefficient management of indigenous industrial undertakings. There are, however, outstanding differences between the two countries though they may possess a peaceful civilisation, large number of people with a low scale of living and village-communities which have successfully withstood the shock of foreign invasions or domestic uprisings. The first thing that strikes the observation of the most superficial thinker is that China's progress is arrested by nations holding superior political power. All development is hindered by perpetual unrest and domestic disorders. Her credit is bad and the financial standing of the Chinese Government is declining year by year. Fortunately for India Great Britain has come out triumphant in the recent war and her *status quo* is respected by the League of Nations and as regards the aspirations of foreign powers she is comparatively free from their unsympathetic influence. Secondly the materialistic and objective civilisation of the West is forcing the Indian people to cast off their subjective experience. The Indian people are learning to think in the Occidental manner and their commercial sense and are beginning to worship the God of Efficiency.

India has often been referred to as the "Italy of the East" and superficially the simile carries far. Geographically there is a like situation. Italy is in the centre of the Mediterranean littoral as India stands in the centre of the Asiatic group of countries often designated as the Middle East. Economically there is every resemblance between India and Italy. Like Italy India is poor in those elements, iron and coal, on which industrial greatness is founded ; like the Italian peasants, the Indian ryots are poor but they are much poorer. The resources of India however are more balanced than that of Italy in the matter of raw materials. While Italy has no access to raw materials owing to the high development of France, Germany and other neighbours like the Swiss people, India has access to the Asiatic Continent and a proper development of her trans-frontier trade would provide a market for her goods to a certain extent. Both countries possess a glorious history behind them. Italy is often referred to as the "mother of dead Empires" and the "Niobe of nations." Indian historians and people generally through the inflated notions of nationalism in their mind, make much of the past as a glorious "Golden age." India and Italy alike have a huge labouring population of low earning power and a deficiency of employment which forces the people to emigrate out of the country. Most of the Italians have sought shelter in the United States of America and the South American Republic of Argentina. The Indian emigrants are to be found in British Guiana, South Africa and Kenya and other countries of the British Empire. The Italian labourer works for ten to twelve hours a day for forty cents and almost all articles as beer, wine, bread and cheese, salt and sugar are very high in price. His house is lacking in modern sanitary arrangements. He loves to bargain and all business is conducted on this basis. The habit of paying concessions for every sale or purchase of goods is also common. All this description can with much success be applied to describe the conditions of living of the Indian agriculturists. Commercially the trade of both countries has increased in volume during the past forty years. The one redeeming feature of Italian commerce is the fact that imports of foodstuffs and manufactured goods have decreased thereby pointing to the increase of home agricultural and industrial business. Both countries have been dominated to a great extent by foreign capitalists. The German investment in Italy is a well-known fact. The presence of the foreign capitalist and his baneful influence have been the subject of adverse comment in both the countries. Both the countries believe that their future lies in the developing of agricultural resources strongly aided by the textile industries. Both countries have great areas of fertile soil, variety of climate and a numerous population accustomed to the tilling of land. Both the countries lack indigenous capital sufficient to make use of the profitable opportunities in agriculture and industries. Both the Italian and the Indian Governments have loaned money for agricultural purposes but no great results have been reaped in either case. Both countries suffer from malaria and cholera to a great extent and an economic war against these scourges is absolutely necessary in both these countries. Educationally Italy is more forward than India. There are about 78 per cent. of illiterates in one single province of Italy but generally speaking they are mechanically ingenious, industrious and more well educated than the Indian people. Unlike the Indian people the Italians however hold high ambitions and ideals and robust resisting power and strive to attain them with the best of their energies. Nothing is so striking as the ability of the Italian peasants to organise themselves protect to their interests and the influences of communism and capitalism wiping out small capital and small owners in agriculture and industry, start co-operative and collective farms for securing agricultural progress and use hydro-electric power generated by the "Sila-Lakes" scheme for agricultural work as irrigation. The Italian Government has understood the situation and has set to work whole-heartedly to solve the economic questions of the day. Industry, intelligence and state-co-operation have gone a long way in bettering the situation.

Co-operation.

If the economic destiny of our country is to be a cheerful and bright one a like co-operation between the state and the people is necessary. The mere maintaining of law and order and authority is not sufficient. No country in the world has progressed economically by the intelligent action of the people alone unaided by state-help. Germany, Japan, Italy, Russia, Sweden, and some of the modern ABC republics of South America have become what they are only as the result of intelligent state direction, help, guidance and promotion in the field of trade, industries, education and other economic activities of the people. The striving from within made by conscious effort on the part of the people should be shunted on to the right track so that national greatness may be assured. The signs of the times should be understood by the Government of India. Religion in the true sense of the term is becoming a thing of the past. Physical, moral and national deterioration have set in. Life in the towns is fast becoming artificial. Man is becoming effeminate. The towns are becoming overcrowded and rural depopulation, specially of its able-bodied workers, continues without any let or hindrance. There are cries of middle-class unemployment and rural decay. The curses of drinking and gambling continue unabated. Thus social and economic problems stare the Government in the face on every side and are awaiting a keen and satisfactory solution.

The Economic Means to better the Existing Situation.

It has once been said of a prominent American statesman that he represented " the highest possible achievement and development of the commonplace." The same thing can as well be done in the case of India. The secret of success lies in the ability to unite the different races into a nationhood, to create a system of inland waterways, roads, and railways, to reserve an intelligent national control over these transportation agencies, to create a mercantile marine to handle her sea-borne traffic, to enable the people to work upon such materials as are available in this country, to develop credit facilities to carry on the different possible industries in this country, to provide technical or vocational education which would work in co-operation with industrial concerns, to harness science in the cause of industrial progress and productiveness, to devise paternalistic laws to help the human working-unit, and to act in fiscal matters in the best interests of India regardless of the wishes, feelings or dictation of the Whiteball Palace. This is the healthy economic system which would enable us to make use of our rescurces.

The Agencies that can secure Economic Progress.

The future economic development of our country would depend on the co-ordinated action of three agents, *viz.*, Governmental action, voluntary organisations, and personal effort. All these have to co-operate with each other to solve the important and vital national problems. The duty of the State is to raise adequate funds for expenditure necessary for the undertaking of effective ameliorative measures. The State has to adapt itself to the changing circumstances and reduce the harsh bureaucratic methods disliked by the people. Voluntary organisation of the people like the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Societies, and Seva Samities would command prestige and well-spread influence over large sections of the people and they possess considerable freedom in their action. Personal effort is no less needed as the environmental conditions can be overcome by particular remedies that personal effort can easily undertake. Abstinence from tobacco, wise purchase of goods leading to savings, limitation of family, increased economy and better education for children can be secured by individual action alone. A judicious co-operation of the three factors is necessary to elevate the present economic condition of the people. Unfortunately no individual effort can be forthcoming as the people are blinded to a great extent by their ignorance, illiteracy and poverty. Extraneous influence either of the voluntary organisations or the Government have to wake them up to realise the situation. But, unfortunately, the bureaucratic Government suspects every voluntary organisation as aiming a blow at its prestige and political influence. The Bureaucratic Government itself is under the fatal delusion that it understands the needs of the people better than their own spokesmen. This is the chief reason why economic progress has been proceeding at a snail's pace. No one denies that there has been economic progress but there is a considerable body of opinion that is dissatisfied with the rate of progress. They compare India's progress with those of other countries which starting under worse conditions and handicapped by the lack of several accessories for production have beaten India in the race. There has been industrialisation to a certain extent but India can boast of only three big industries,—jute, cotton and coal-mining, employing 200,000 workers each. The Indian Fiscal Commission itself says that the rate of industrial progress is not commensurate with the size of the country, its population and its natural resources. We have not learnt to combine effectively for industrial and commercial purposes and our progress is slow. Even with the wealth of her raw materials and available labour India stands as the eighth country in the industrial world. So far as commerce and international trade is concerned she stands fourth in the list of nations. India stands 22nd in the list of agricultural countries so far as productivity is concerned. From this low economic status India has to be raised and now that she has started on the proper path leading to economic progress and is adapting her life according to the modern methods and modern ideals there is bound to be some improvement in the economic field. An economically progressive India would not be a danger to the British Empire or the Western industrialised countries. The economic self-containedness of the British Empire would be a *fait accompli* only if the Indian resources are developed in an intelligent manner. The resources of India would be supplementing the needs of the whole Empire. The most powerful country in the British Empire would be India, not Great Britain, nor Canada, nor Australia, nor South Africa. The chief elements contributing towards this greatness would be her land, her sturdy, peaceful, industrious and phlegmatic people. Much of the mineral weal th and forest resources can be greatly expanded. Increasing advance in transportation and internal development of the country would greatly augment the individual and national wealth of India. If political and social progress is also achieved the light that would be let in would conduce to a new and better era. If India were to be united into a nation with its illiteracy and ignorance banished from the minds of the people, with an educated people taking keen interest in administrative methods and political life free from the more or less unscrupulous bureaucracy, with all social prejudices and preconceived notions cast away and with keen ability to grasp in a comprehensive manner the innate potentialities of the land and its material wealth and with comparative freedom of thought and action to all members and sections of society, the fertile imagination of a princely dreamer alone would enable one to picture the commanding position which an economically strong India would occupy.

The Duty of the Government.

The future economic development of the country would depend on the close relationship between the Government and Industry. The scope of regulation of certain industries would be on the increase. The quality of service, the purity of the products, the protection of the public against dishonest and bogus companies, the regulation of hours of work in mines, and other industries have all to be secured in the interests of the consumers and the workers themselves. The State itself is undertaking public utility services such as the management of railways. This does not mean that the economic socialisation of the country should be brought about as has been done by the Bolsheviks in Russia. Their experiment of creating new forms of production instead of the old capitalistic forms proved a failure from the standpoint of output.. Rykoff the President of the Supreme Economic Council says :

> "That 614 metallurgical companies out of 1,191 companies were nationalised. These were able to produce only 20,000,000 poods of ore, about 15% of the total requirements of Russia. The production of machinery amounted to 30% of the 1913 production. The production of agricultural implements ranged from 43% of the 1913 production for ploughs and 26% for harrows and 20% for threshing machines." The figures 30—40% per cent. of the pre-war production constantly occur in the chief branches of industry. This means that Soviet Russia, so far as boots and shoes and the supply of clothes, metals and agricultural products is concerned, meets only ⅓ of the country's peace-time requirements. This may continue a year or two, and in the meantime we shall use the reserves ; we will consume what is left from previous periods. But the reserves are rapidly becoming exhausted and every day, every hour, we are drawing nearer to a complete crisis in these branches of industries."[1]

He admits plainly that output was better for the middle-sized and small establishments which were not nationalised.

The promotion and development of industrial tasks, such as research work or other things which prove too great for private enterprise and consequently are left undone, clearly falls on the shoulders of the State. The example of the Anglo-Saxon countries which have granted individual freedom to private enterprises would not suit us. The example of the United States of America which undertakes a lot of economic work in relation to industry seems worth copying. The United States Federal Government has the following departments which have to do work of an economic nature which has an important bearing on the industries and commerce of the country.

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[1] See Leites " Recent Economic Development in Russia," p. 103. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace."

The Department of the Interior.

(*a*) General Land Office.
(*b*) Patent Office.
(*c*) Bureau of Education.
(*d*) Geological Survey.
(*e*) Reclamation Service.
(*f*) Bureau of Mines.

The Department of Agriculture.

(*a*) Weather Bureau.
(*b*) Bureau of Animal Industry.
(*c*) Bureau of Plant.
(*d*) Forest Service.
(*e*) Bureau of Chemistry.
(*f*) Bureau of Soils.
(*g*) Bureau of Entomology.
(*h*) Bureau of Biological Survey.
(*i*) Bureau of Crop Estimates.
(*j*) Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering.

The Department of Labour.

(*a*) Bureau of Immigration.
(*b*) Bureau of Labour Statistics.
(*c*) Children's Bureau.
(*d*) The United States Employment Service.

The Department of Commerce.

(*a*) Bureau of Census.
(*b*) Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.
(*c*) Bureau of Standards.
(*d*) Bureau of Fisheries.
(*e*) Bureau of Lighthouses.
(*f*) Coast and Geologic Survey.
(*g*) Bureau of Navigation.
(*h*) Steamboard Inspection Service.

It is not the Federal Government of the United States alone that is interested in industry, commerce and general economic work of the people. The State and the Local Governments are closely interested and allied to the industrial life of the country.

The present attitude of the Government of India towards industrial development is clearly outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch to the Government of India, dated 25th September, 1919.

> "In future the government should play an active part in the industrial development of the country.......State assistance will take various forms such as research, the survey of natural resources, technical and scientific advice, educational facilities, commercial and industrial intelligence, the establishment of pioneering and demonstration factories, financial help, the purchase of government stores in India, whether in the way of business or under a guarantee of purchase over a fixed period and probably also fiscal measures."

This exactly has been the policy that Indian Economic writers and businessmen seeking protection have been clamouring for. But there is a lot of difference between passing sonorous resolutions and the effective carrying out of these policies. Concurrently with these resolutions steps have been taken to delegate all industrial business to the provinces and the financially bankrupt provinces can do nothing to achieve any real promotion of industrial business. The starving of the Industries Department has to be discontinued. These measures would mean more Government activity and greater expenditure than before.

Another important question is the problem of conservation of the natural resources of the country. Floods annually devastate crops and the loss of cattle is great during such calamities. The question of afforestation, the straightening of the course of rivers as in the province of Bengal, the reclaiming of swamp lands, the improving of roadsteads and harbours are closely related to the problem of conservation. It is not natural resources and land alone that need a careful policy of conservation. Human life and energy have to be saved. The question of the sanitary aid to village organisations and an effective starting of co-operative organisations to deal with such scourges as malaria, cholera and other diseases are parts of the problem of conservation. "In a true sense the nation can buy health."[1] Great Britain for instance is seeking to add to the length of life of the people by three more years by the extension of public health activities in one direction or another and an increased expenditure on them so that it may with some truth be said that if " even the better-off classes of the community want to live longer they must be willing to yield up more of their incomes for collective health purposes than at present." As there is a wide prevalence of ill-health in the community due to general sickness, invalidity and physical impairment which finds no place in notifications of public health or death returns much money has to be spent on the public health department for a solution of the great burden of disease that stands hanging over us at the present day. A healthy national existence would lead towards the increase of the earning capacity of the individuals. Practical measures should be devised under all the above headings and an active enlistment of the support of the people and unstinted support of the State are necessary for a real and lasting solution.

Industry and commerce depend upon transportation and banking to a large extent. A number of middlemen traders to assume the business of collecting the products for markets and agencies to grant money and credit are necessary. .The development of commercial industries largely depends on the provision of economic needs. Commercial expansion depends on the development of banking and growth in the means of communication. Our banking system is not yet elastic enough to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing country. It does not create currency free from doubt as to value, readily convertible into specie and answering to the requirements of trade. It is unable to supply the legitimate wants of the borrowers at all times. It does not afford the greatest possible means of security for the depositor. It does not possess adequate machinery for the distribution of the money over the whole area of the country so as to prevent possible inequalities in the rate of interest. Hence "capital does not march across the continent automatically to find the borrower." India could easily become the "clearing centre of trade" as England is at present for Europe. It stands in the centre of the Eastern Hemisphere and her trade routes radiate in all directions. The absence of a mercantile marine debars her from taking advantage of this location. Another desideratum in this country is the development of business education and commercial knowledge. The distaste for commerce as a sordid thing among the cultured and the richer classes except the Marwaris and Bhatias must be curbed. A systematic study of the practical details of foreign trade problems is now being undertaken in schools and business concerns. A study of the practical details of foreign trade like the packing, shipping and consular regulations is essential for increasing the export trade of the country.

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[1] See the Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer, 1920-21, p. 21.

The consummation of economic development can be achieved through the right kind of industrial, vocational and commercial education that is being introduced. The introduction of changes in the school curricula to adjust them to the changed conditions of society is being slowly brought about. The development of higher commercial education is a result of this adaptation to the changed needs of the hour. Commercial organisations like the Chambers of Commerce and the formation of local associations of businessmen is a proof of the realisation of the community of their interests. Besides their particular sectional interests the general industrial and social problems of town life are being tackled by them to a certain extent. The proper method of looking after the civic population and its problems such as housing, sanitation, healthy recreation, places of entertainment and the encouragement of the moral life of the citizens have only reached the stage of discussion. An adequate solution by practical alleviating measures can be attained only by the corporate action of the community guided on intelligent lines by Government support, help and sympathy. Economic progress must not depend on the mercy of Government action and will; if so, there would be no guarantee of its continuance.

Another economic problem that requires urgent solution is the recognition of the Trade Unions, the setting up of machinery to settle industrial disputes between the capitalists and the labourers and the general improvement of the welfare of the people. Although the labour problem or Industrial war has not become so important a problem as in the Western countries at any rate the necessity of devising machinery to promptly settle mooted points of difference is admitted by all parties. While trying to solve effectively justice must be meted out to the labourers, the interests of the consumers secured and the capitalists should not be injured in any way.

Any work in these different lines would mean more state action. As Lord Ronaldshay has pointed out, the Indian Government carries on more work than the Western ones.

> "It constructs and runs raliways, it undertakes huge irrigation works, it organises famine relief, it fights pestilence and plague, it doctors and it sanitates, it undertakes the exploration and scientific treatment of the immense forests scattered over the land: it monopolises the manufacture of salt: it runs school and colleges; it makes its influence felt in other words in every development of the people's life." [1]

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[1] Earl Ronaldshay, *A Bird's Eye View of India.*

Nobody denies that it inspires and actually acts as the driving force in the different departments of works enumerated above. The Mogul Emperors never created such an elaborate machinery of government. But all this has arisen on account of the faulty system of education based on Macaulay's misconception turning out in large numbers young Indians unfit for useful work. Secondly the village autonomy which every foreign rule except the British cared for, has now broken down under the centralisation policy of the Government, the introduction of new revenue systems and judicial administration and the very fact of opening up the interior of the counry by roads, railways and efficient means of transportation has allowed the free play of world influences and industrial forces breaking down the old and effete form of industrial structure and organisation, The breakdown of the self-sufficient structure had to be repaired by the Government in the interest of peace, order and development so that work for their capital might be found, the necessary raw material for their industries might be provided and an extensive market may be found for their industrial products. It is necessary therefore that the State has to take a more active part in industrial matters to enable entrepreneurs to work successfully the raw materials which exist in this country. The prestige of the British Government is such that the Indian people look to the Government for any initiative in measures of reform in any walk of life. The illiteracy of the masses precludes them from starting any movement themselves. Their ignorance disables them from bettering their condition without the extraneous aid of their Government. Even such a strong advocate of *laissez-faire* as Arnold Toynbee says :

> "we have not abandoned our old belief in liberty, justice and help; but we say that under certain conditions people cannot help themselves and that they should be helped by the State representing directly the whole people. In giving the State-help we make three conditions—first, the matter

may be of primary social importance; next it must be proved to be practicable; and thirdly the State interference must not diminish self-reliance."[1]

Theoretically speaking the industrial changes in other countries have been shaped only through the pressure of economic circumstances and these have nothing to do with governmental action. But the Government as well as individuals can shape and influence the course in the right direction, stripping it bare of all baneful consequences and accelerating the speed by which the cherished goal can be reached early so that India may really become a great economic factor of the world.

What the State has to do by judicious effort, example or precept can be tabulated as follows:

The State has
- To remove insanitation
- To improve nutrition
- To promote education
- To check intemperance
- To relieve unemployment
- To increase efficiency

among the people.

This action would stimulate individual effort and voluntary organisation and joint action on their part might tend to raise the obstacles from the *via dolorosa* along which so many of the Indian people have to journey.

The Duty of the People.

The economic evolution of the immediate future and the ultimate destiny of the nation solely depends on the people themselves according to the incentive of their own character and within the limits of their physical needs and possibilities of their own land. The power of governmental influence from without would always be negligible. Even in the U.S.A.

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[1] Arnold Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution.*

and Germany it has sometimes been expressed that the Government intervention has more often hindered the development of commerce and private adventure in foreign lands making American foreign trade the football of national politics. In Germany however the co-operation of Government and private initiative acting in a spirit of mutual confidence and mutual trust, has produced a remarkable national expansion of foreign trade when compared with the smallness of the population (70 ms.) and the poor natural resources of the country which compel her to import the raw materials from outside to give work to her population. Her Government's diplomatic exploitation which secured for her West Africa in the Agadir Crisis, always seeks the promotion of material interests of the country and preferential treatment of German products. English economists discuss the *pros* and *cons* of this governmental interference and point out the fallacies of German fiscal policy, State control of public utilities, the dangers of adventuresome banking leading to locking up of capital in industrial ventures, the evils of conscription, the costliness of a standing army and the futility of agricultural co-operation. But judged by the results, she has become the envy, the marvel and wonder of the 20th century world. Germany has been able to realise this position by the strength and knowledge of its people and the stability of their character, their thorough, quiet and methodical way of toiling intelligently in the pursuit of wealth, their patience, industry and adaptability, their excellent and scientific methods of production, high class education and distribution and above all the *entente commune* that unites all people into one real unit of Imperial Germany.

Until the Indian nation as a whole wakes up the dependence on foreign capitalists and industrialists to guide us to our cherished goal would be in vain. The English capitalists and industrialists always yearn to return back to their country. " He always looks forward for his home-going.

Neither English cooking, the English climate—in fact none of the discomforts of life endured in the strange land of strength and queer discrepancies has any terrors for him—when he is away from them. Let him live quarter of a century in a foreign land, it is never home to him. He is planning his return."[1] For a while after the Sepoy Mutiny an attempt was made to encourage the colonisation of Europeans in India but it soon passed away. Land was granted in the sub-Himalayan regions, improved schooling and openings for children of the British soldiers were in vogue. But the experiment did not succeed. The unfortunate result of this is to be seen in the fact that the experts leave the country and India loses the benefit of their ripe experience and knowledge. England reaps the benefit of such talents who in their mature age return back to their country. Here is the reply to the argument of Dr. Marshall who deplores the fact that India never counts the cost of training the English experts who go to India for service. The value of a skilled immigrant into the country has been estimated at £200 by Dr. Engel. But as these do not make India their permanent home and return home at the earliest opportunity India stands to lose more than what she gains by the import of these raw and immature experts.[2]

Voluntary Organisation.

Everything depends on the spirit of unity and the consequent assimilation that can be brought about. Our 319 millions of population consist of heterogeneous elements. The confusion of tongues has not diminished to any great extent in this nation. The Hindu and Mahomedan communities are clamouring with each other. We are enthusiastic about progress and noisily determined to become a real power in the world. We are sentimental and emotional to a large extent but do not pay much heed to efficiency. We are more or less becoming mechanically cohesive losing all the perfect co-operation which animated our forefathers. We have lost our intellectual power and religious sincerity. Although we have a minimum of foreign war and little of militarism, increasing political solidarity and less restraint on local or personal liberty, we have not been able to "settle." The worship of the golden past is the common rule in all circles and constant carping of the ways of bureaucracy is the end and aim of the politically-minded classes. As Dr. Marshall remarks :

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[1] See J. D. Whelpley, Trade of the World, p. 45.

[2] See Dr. A. Marshall, " Money, Trade and Commerce," p. 135,

> "there is a strong temptation to overstate the economic evils of our own age and to ignore the existence of similar and worse evils in earlier ages for by so doing we may, for the time being stimulate others as well as ourselves to a more intense resolve that the present evils shall no longer be allowed to exist and the pessimist's description of our own age combined with romantic exaggeration of the happiness of past ages, must tend to the setting aside of the methods of progress, the work of which, if slow, is yet solid; and to the hasty adoption of others of greater promise, but which resemble the patent medicine of a charlatan and while quickly effecting good, sow the seeds of widespread and lasting decay."

The only quickening forces for India are education and the spirit of organisation. These are the supreme factors that count before all the others. If the State, the people and their organised associations combine and join hands, regeneration will come irresistibly. The internal problems of readjustment can be tackled in right earnest. The hereditary social structure as regards inheritance laws and marriage system and caste distinctions can be modified and new types of organisation can be settled afresh and without these there would be no economic progress.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

ARYAN OCCUPATION OF INDIA

• Indian tradition preserves distinct memories of an earlier home of the Aryans. Thus in the Rigveda, I. 30. 9, a worshipper invokes from his "ancient dwelling place," *Pratnasyaukasaḥ*, the god Indra whom his father formerly invoked. We are also told[1] that *Yadu* and *Turvaśa* came from a distant land, and the former is, in one passage,[2] brought into special relation with *Parśu* (*cf.* Persia). Allusions to tribes and rivers of Irān have been traced in several hymns of the Rik Saṁhitā. Hillebrandt, for instance, sees in the Dāsas the Dahæ, and in the Paṇis the Parnians. He finds in the Sarasvatī the Irānian Harahvaitî, identifies the Hariyūpîyā with the river Iryāb or Haliāb and thinks that the Yavyāvatī is the Djob. References to Irān have also been seen in the names Iṣṭāśva[3] (Hystaspes) and Tirindira[4] (Tiridates). Post-Vedic tradition indicates that the *Ailas*—a powerful body of Aryans—entered India from the Oxus Valley, from *Bālhi* or *Balhika*, according to the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] This country, it should be noted, finds prominent mention in one of the earliest Vedic texts, *viz.*, the Atharva Saṁhitā (V. 22, 5. 7. 9). The Papañcasūdanī[6] refers to the establishment of the Kuru Kingdom by a body of colonists from *Uttara-Kuru*, a trans-Himalayan realm known to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the customs of which are quoted for guidance by a Kuru king in the Mahābhārata (Ādi, 122. 7). Whatever we may think of Hillebrandt's suggestions, it is abundantly clear that the horizon of the early Indo-Aryans extended beyond the limits of India and encompassed the plateau of Irān and the tableland of Central Asia. Memories of an ancestral connection with these territories had not faded even in the epic period. But Persia, Bactria and Uttarakuru have not yielded the earliest historical traces of Indra-worshipping Aryans. They were perhaps merely intermediate stages in the Aryan advance towards India. For a still earlier home—for the earliest historical notice of Indra-worshipping Aryans—we should perhaps turn to the regions near and beyond the Zagros mountains. An early association of the Indo-Aryans with these regions has been inferred by Tilak and others from words and names like Manā (Rig. VIII. 78. 2), Taimāta (Atharva, V. 18. 4), Urugūlā (Atharva V. 13. 8), Yahva (Rig. III. 1. 12; IV. 75. 1; X. 110. 3), as well as from the legend of the flood in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Recent excavations have disclosed actual traces of a people with Indo-Aryan affinities who lived in Western Asia in the second millennium B. C. The Boghaz-Koi Inscriptions reveal the names of their principal deities, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and the heavenly twins, the *Nāsatyas*. The discovery of the name of Indra is of special significance in view of the Rig-Vedic verse (I. 30. 9) referred to above. Numerals have also been discovered, which are distinctly Indo-Aryan in form. Thus, the form for 1 is *aika* in a compound, for 3 *teras*, for 5 *panza*, for 7 *satta*, and for 9 *nāv.*[1] To the same period as the Boghaz-Koi inscriptions belong the famous letters from Tel-el-Amarna. In these occur references to Mesopotamian princes bearing names like *Artatama*, *Tusratta* (*cf.* Daśaratha) and *Suttarna.* In Palestine we come across such names as *Biridashwa* (Sk. *Bṛhadaśva*), *Yashdata*, and *Shuwardata* (Sk. Sūryadatta). In Babylonia, too, among Kassite princes and deities, we find names like *Maruttash* (Sk. Marut, the wind-god), *Shimalia*, the "lady of the bright mountains" (*cf.* Himālaya), *Dakash*, "star" (*cf.* *Dakṣa*, the parent of the

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[1] I. 36. 18; VI. 45. 1.

[2] VIII. 6. 46.

[3] I. 122. 13.

[4] VIII. 6. 46.

Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 254, 299.

[6] Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 16.

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[1] Cambridge Ancient History, II, 13; Childe, Aryans, 19.

Nakṣatras of Hindu mythology), and *Shuriyas* "sun" (Sk. *sūrya*).[1]

It is not known for certain when the Aryans first came to North-West India, or rather the Land of the Seven Rivers, *Sapta-Sindhavas* or *Hapta Hindu* as it is called in the Rig Veda and the Avestan Vendīdad. But their occupation of the country must have taken place at least as early as 1400 B. C.[2]

It seems that the new-comers were at first confined to the Land of the Seven Rivers (including the Sarasvatī, Rig. VII. 36. 6) and were divided into five tribes.[3] But before the close of the Rigvedic period they had spread over a vast expanse of territory extending from Eastern Afghanistan to the basin of the Upper Ganges. They had even heard of distant non-Aryan peoples like the *Kīkaṭas* (of Magadha), and of distant non-Aryan strongholds like *Ūrjayantī* (Rig. II. 13. 8; *cf.* Urjjayanta or Girnār Hill).

The Aryan occupation of Eastern Kabulistān is proved by the mention of the rivers *Kubhā* (Kābul), *Suvāstu* (Swat), *Mehatnu*, *Krumu* (Kurrum), and *Gomatī* (Gumal), as well as tribes like the *Pakthas* (Pakthūn) and the *Gandhāris* (of the Peshwār District). Further east, the Rig-vedic people occupied almost the whole of the Pañjāb watered by the *Sindhu* (Indus) and its famous tributaries, the *Suṣomā* (Sohān), the *Ārjīkīyā* (probably the Kansi), the *Vitastā* (Jhelum), the *Asiknī* (Chināb), the *Paruṣṇī* (Rāvi), the *Vipāś* (Bias) and the *Śutudrī* (Sutlej). Tribes like the Pūrus and the Śivas occupied the country as late as the time of Alexander. In the north the Aryans held a part at least of the secluded vale of Kaśmīr and in the hymns we find mention of the small Kaśmīrian stream, the *Marudvridhā* (Maruwardwan), which flows from north to south and joins the Chināb on its northern bank at Kashtwār.

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[1] Cambridge Ancient Hist., I, 312, 553.

[2] See *supra*, Cal. Rev., 1924, pp. 67-77.

[3] Pañca Kṣiti, Pañca Jana, Pañca Mānuṣa, Pañca Kṛṣṭi, Pañca Carṣani.

In the east the Rigvedic Aryans had certainly conquered the fertile plains of Sirhind and Thanesvar and reached the holy waters of the Jumna and the Ganges,[1] while adventurers appear to have pushed as far as the banks of the *Sarayū.*[2] The occupation of a part at least of the *Madhyadeśa* appears certain not only from the mention of lakes like Śaryanāvant, and streams like the Sarasvatī,[3] the Āpayā, the Dṛisadvatī, the Yamunā, the Gaṅgā, the Gomatī (which flowed past the dwelling of the Dālbhyas) and the Sarayū, but also from the mention of well-known *Madhyadeśa* tribes and clans like the *Ruśamas*, *Uśīnaras*, *Dālbhyas*, *Sṛiñjayas*, *Matsyas*, *Cedis*, and *Iksvākus.*[4] Some scholars find references even to the *Kurus* and the *Pañcālas* (*Krivis*). It may, of course, be argued that some of these rivers and tribes are to be located in the Western Pāñjāb or even in Irān. But such arguments have seldom been supported by cogent proofs. Due weight has rarely been given to the testimony of the Epics and Purānas which has been lightly brushed aside even when there was no strong evidence to the contrary in the Vedas themselves.

In the south, Rigvedic poets refer to a region called the Dakṣiṇapadā. The exact significance of this term is not known. But the absence of any reference to the mountains, rivers and tribes of Central and Southern India makes it unlikely that we have here the earliest historical notice of the Deccan. An acquaintance with the desert of Rājputāna[1] is probably, however, suggested by the constant mention of *Dhanvan.* With the exception of the territory defined above, the whole of India was occupied by non-Aryan tribes. These *Aṇāryas* are referred to under the general designation of Dāsas or Dasyus. We have also notices of specific tribes like the Śimyus and the Kîkaṭas and probably also the Ajas, Yakṣus, and Śigrus.

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[1] See the ref. to the Gaṅgā in Rig. X. 75·5, and VI. 45·31. *Cf.* also Jahnāvī, I. 116·19, III. 58·6. Scholars who build weighty theories on the paucity of references to the Ganges should remember that in the Yajus and Atharva Saṁhitās it is *not mentioned* at all.

[2] See *supra,* 1924, Oct., pp. 74, 76, for its identification as well as that of the Gomatī in the Madhyadeśa.

[3] All the important epithets of the Rigvedic Sarasvatī are found in connection with the epic river of the same name. *Cf.* Mbh. XIII. 146·17 f.

एषा सरस्वती पुण्या नदीनामुत्तमा नदी
प्रथमा सर्व्वसरितां नदी सागरगामिनी

[4] See my *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 27, 28, 32, 49, 65; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 401, 403.

In the next **period,** *viz.*, that **of the Yajus and Atharva** Saṁhitās, and the earlier Brāhmaṇas, the Aryan occupation of the Gangetic Doab is completed, and we hear for the first time of flourishing settlements in Central India, on the banks of the Varaṇāvatî, and even further to the east. Central India was explored by tribes like the Kuntis and the Vītahavyas who figure prominently in the later Saṁhitās and are associated with the Malwan region in the period of the Great Epic. In the eastward expansion the lead was taken by two tribes *viz.*, the Bharatas and the Videghas (Videhas). The former advanced along the Yamunā, and the latter across the Sarasvatī and the Sadānīrā (Rāpti or Gaṇḍak). The widening of the eastern horizon is synchronous with an intimate knowledge of the north, and the Bahlikas, Mahāvṛiṣas, Gandhāris and Mūjavats appear in the Atharva Saṁhitās side by side with the Kāśis, Magadhas and Aṅgas.

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[1] As to the theory of a "Rājputāna sea" into which the Sarasvatī is said to have emptied itself, which has been propounded in recent times, we should note that the epithet सागरगामिनी. is applied to the Sarasvatī even in the Epic period when, surely, there was no "Rājputāna sea." As to references to the four Samudras it should be remembered that "चतुःसमुद्र," "चत्वारश्च महार्णवाः" (Mbh. XIII. 150-27), "चतुरुदधि" are stock phrases of Sanskrit literature like the "seven oceans" of Paurāṇic mythology (*cf*, Saptabudhnam arṇavam, Rig Veda VIII. 40-5) and occur even in inscriptions of the Gupta Period. The idea was originally derived from the four quarters of the sky. In the Rig Veda (VI. 58·3: X. 98. 12; 123. 2) we have clear references to the use of the term समुद्र in the sense of अन्तरीक्ष and द्यौ. The term समुद्र was also applied to big rivers like the Ganges as late as the period of the Jātaka commentary (*cf.* Jātaka No. 342). The "sweet water swelling up from the समुद्र" (Rig. IV. 58·1) cannot refer to the saline water of the sea.

The later **Brahmanas, Āranyakas and Upanisads** introduce us to a geographical area not much different from that of the later Saṁhitās except in regard to a few particulars. The centre of Aryan civilisation now, as in the earlier epochs of the Yajus and the Atharva, is found to lie in the Ganges-Jumna region. But we now hear for the first time of the great Dakṣiṇa-parvata, *i.e.*, the Vindhya (Kauṣītaki, II. 8), and the vast territory beyond it, as well as the eastern region beyond the Sadanīrā, peopled by Dasyu tribes, but already partially occupied by the vanguards of Vedic civilisation. We have, moreover, a glimpse of India with its five-fold division :—the Dhruvā-Madhyamā Pratiṣṭhā, diś (the Middle Quarter), the Prācī diś (Eastern Quarter), the Dakṣiṇā diś (Southern Quarter), the Pratīcī diś (Western Quarter), and the Udīcī diś (Northern Quarter). The division is already anticipated by the Atharva Saṁhitā (XIX. 17. 1-9), but for detailed information we must turn to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. In the Dhruvā Madhyamā diś lay the realms of the Kurus, the Pañcālas, the Vaśas and the Uśīnaras. The realms of Prācī are not specifically named, but we learn from other sources that the following peoples existing in the Brāhmaṇa period belonged to that region, *viz.*, the Kosalas,[1] Kāsis,[2] Videhas, Magadhas and Aṅgas. Some scholars find a reference to the Vaṅgas in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, but the only people of the Far East of India mentioned distinctly in the later Vedic texts are the Puṇḍras. The most important peoples of the Daksīṇā diś were the Niṣadhas, the Satvats, governed by Bhōja kings, and their kinsmen, the Vaidarbhas of Berar.

The Aryan settlements in the South were surrounded by Dasyu tribes like the Andhras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas.[3]

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[1] The Kosalan capital (Sāvatthi) was included in the eastern region (Puratthima Janapada) as late as the time of the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Part I, p. 66).

[2] Kāsi is excluded from the Madhyadeśa even by Manu who makes Prayāga the eastern boundary of that region. It is in comparatively later times that this famous place came to be included within the Madhyadeśa as we learn from the Kāvya-mīmāṁsā.

[3] See my *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 44-45.

About the peoples of Pratīcī, namely, the Nicyas and the Apācyas, we do not know much. The peoples of Udīcī mentioned specifically by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa are the Uttara-kurus and the Uttara-madras, who dwelt beyond the Himavat ; but the Brāhmaṇa texts give us also names of many other tribes living to the north-west of the Dhruvā Madhyamā diś such as the Gandhāras, Kekayas, Madras, and Ambaṣṭhas.[1]

The next **period**—that **of the Brāhmanical and Buddhist Sūtras**—was marked by a simultaneous advance in two directions, *viz.* the west and the south. The boundaries of the Madhya-deśa were enlarged and we have reference to a number of new kingdoms in the west and the south. Moreover, it was in this epoch that the Hindus for the first time referred to a very famous people of antiquity, *viz.*, the Yavanas or the Greeks.[2]

The Dhruvā Madhyamā diś, then called Āryāvarta, the Śiṣṭadeśa or Majjhima deśa, though still confined by some to the Gangetic Doāb, really embraced a wider area. The Himavat range and particularly the Uśīnara Peak were still mentioned as the northern boundary, but the eastern frontier now reached the Kālakavana, probably near Allahabad. The southern boundary was formed by the Pariyātra, *i.e.*, the Western Vindhyas, and the western boundary by Adarśana and Thuna, both situated on the Sarasvatī. Beyond the western boundary of the Madhya-deśa, Aryan civilization had spread as far as the Arabian Sea and we hear for the first time of western realms of mixed origin (*Saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*) like Avanti, Surāṣṭra, Sindhu and Sauvīra.

In the south the Aryans had overstepped the limits of Vidarbha and spread as far as the Godāvarī. The terms Dakṣiṇāpatha and Dākṣiṇātya came into prominence and the Godāvarī valley was dotted over with Aryan settlements like Pañcavati, Janasthāna, Aśmaka and Mulaka. The western and eastern sea-boards of the Deccan were also thoroughly explored. On the west coast rose the great ports of Bharukaccha and Śūrppāraka, while the vast region between the Amarkaṇṭaka range and the Bay of Bengal rapidly developed into the populous and powerful kingdom of Kaliṅga. Kaliṅga, however, does not seem to have been an Aryan kingdom as it is branded as an impure country by Bodhāyana. The southerners observed several customs not approved by the people of the Madhyadeśa, *e.g.*, eating with the uninitiated and with one's wife, taking stale food, and marrying the daughter of a *mātula* and *pitṛsvaṣā.*

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 23-27, 131.

[2] The Romans (Romakas) and the Chinese (Chinas) do not appear till the period of the epics, the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, and the Milindapañho,

The whole of the vast territory to the east of Aṅga was still regarded as an impure country, but there was some difference of opinion between the Brahmanists and Buddhists regarding the Aṅgas and the Magadhas. The Brāhmaṇical sūtras of Bodhāyana regarded them as outside the Madhyadeśa and called them "Saṅkîrṇayonayaḥ," but the Buddhist Vinaya texts included these peoples within the Madhyadeśa, which, according to them, extended as far as Kajaṅgala (Rājamahal Hills). Regarding the regions which lay further to the east, *viz.* Puṇḍra Suhma and Vaṅga, there is no such difference of opinion. The early Pāli canon rarely does the honour of mentioning them. The Jaina Kalpa Sūtra regards Rāḍha-Suhma as a savage tract. Bodhāyana recommends an expiatory sacrifice after a journey to the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas. Even Patañjali, who flourished in the second century B. C., excludes the lower Ganges Valley from Āryāvarta which, according to him, lay to the west of Kālakavana.[1] It is not till we come to the Manusaṁhitā that we find the eastern boundaries of Āryāvarta extended to the sea, *i.e.*, the Bay of Bengal. The first indubitable reference to Vaṅga (including Tāmralipti) as an 'Āriya' land occurs in a Jaina Upāṅga (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 375). Prāgjyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa or Assam) is entirely ignored in the Vedic texts and the early canon of the Jainas and the

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[1] Kielhorn's ed., I. 475.

Buddhists. It first appears in the Epics, but even in the extant Mahābhārata its king Bhagadatta is represented as a leader of barbarian hordes (Mbh. V. 19.15).

The northern region hallowed by the songs of the Rigveda was no longer looked upon as a sacred clime and some of its peoples, *e.g.*, the Āraṭṭas are placed on a level with the impure tribes of the east, *viz.* the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas. The reason is perhaps to be found partly in the observance by the people of practices abhorrent to Mid-Indian sentiment, such as dealing in wool, rum-drinking, selling animals that had teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, following the trade of arms and going to sea, and partly in the influx of foreign intruders like the Persians and the Yavanas.

In the Araṇya and Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍas of the **Rāmāyana** we see the first beginnings of the Aryan infiltration into the country south of the Godāvarî. Though vast tracts of the Deccan were still covered with forests and the main body of Aryan settlers was still confined to the territory lying to the north of the Godāvarî, Aryan sages had already opened up the country as far south as the Pampā, and the Aryan princes had pushed as far as Ceylon. The Aryans had not, however, yet come to the far south in large numbers, and, it is not till the days of Kātyāyana and Megasthenes, that we have the first chronologically valuable references to flourishing *Janapadas* in the fertile valleys of the Kāverî and the Tāmraparṇī.

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

SIR J. C. BOSE ON PLANTS AND PLANT LIFE

Books :

(1) THE PHYSIOLOGY OF PHOTO-SYNTHESIS BY SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE, F.R.S (LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., LTD., 1924, I-XX, PAGES 287, PRICE 16 SHILLINGS NET.)

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The Genesis of Sir J. C. Bose's Researches.

On November 30th, 1917, Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, in his Inaugural address in dedication of the Bose Institute in Calcutta said:

"I dedicate to-day this Institute—not merely a Laboratory but a Temple."

"This day twenty-three years ago, I resolved that as far as the whole-hearted devotion and faith of one man counted, that would not be wanting and within six months it came about that some of the most difficult problems connected with Electric Waves found their solution in my Laboratory and received high appreciation from Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh and other leading physicists."

"In the pursuit of my investigations, I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerge between the realms of the Living and Non-living. Inorganic matter was found anything but inert; it also was athrill under the action of multitudinous forces that played on it. *A common reaction seemed to bring together metal, plant* *and animal under a general law.* They all exhibited essentially the same phenomena of *fatigue* and *depression*, together with possibilities of *recovery* and of *exaltation*, yet also that of permanent *irresponsiveness* which is associated with *death*. I was filled with wonder at this great generalisation; and it was with great hope that I announced my results before the Royal Society—results demonstrated by experiments. But the physiologists present advised me, after my address, to confine myself to physical investigations in which my success had been assured, rather than encroach on their preserve. I had thus unwittingly strayed into the domain of a new and unfamiliar caste system and so offended its etiquette. An unconscious theological bias was also present which confounds ignorance with faith. It is forgotten that He, who surrounded us with this ever-evolving mystery of creation, the ineffable wonder that lies hidden in the microcosm of the dust particle, enclosing within the intricacies of its atomic form the mystery of the cosmos, has also implanted in us the desire to question and understand. To the theological bias was added the misgivings about the inherent bent of the Indian mind towards mysticism and unchecked imagination. But in India this burning imagination which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts, is also held in check by the habit of meditation. It is this restraint which confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of truth in infinite patience, to wait, and reconsider, to experimentally test and repeatedly verify."

"The 'fatigue' of my receivers led to the discovery of universal *sensitiveness* inherent in matter as shown by its *electric response*. It was next possible to study this response in its modification under changing environment, of which its *exaltation* under *stimulants* and its abolition under *poisons* are among the most astonishing outward manifestations. And as a single example of the many applications of this fruitful discovery, the characteristics of an artificial retina gave a clue to the unexpected discovery of 'binocular alternation of vision' in man;—each eye thus supplements its fellow by turns, instead of acting as a continuously yoked pair, as hitherto believed."

"In natural sequence to the investigation of the response in 'inorganic' matter, has followed a prolonged study of the activities of *plant-life* as compared with the corresponding functioning of *animal life.* But since plants for the most part seem motionless and passive, and are indeed limited in their range of movement, *special apparatus of extreme delicacy* had to be *invented*, which should magnify the tremor of excitation and also measure the perception period of a plant to a thousandth part of a second. *Ultramicroscopic* movements were measured and recorded; the length measured being often smaller than a fraction of a single wave-length of light. The secret of plant-life was thus for the first time revealed by the *autographs of the plant itself.* This evidence of the plant's *own script* removed the long-standing error which divided the vegetable world into sensitive and insensitive. The remarkable performance of the 'Praying' Palm Tree of Faridpore, which bows, as if to prostrate itself, every evening, is only one of the latest instances which show that the supposed insensibility of plants and still more of rigid trees is to be ascribed to wrong theory and defective observation. My investigations show that *all* plants, *even the trees*, are fully alive to changes of environment; they respond visibly to all stimuli, even to the *slight fluctuations of light caused by a drifting cloud.* This series of investigations has completely established the *fundamental unity of life-reactions in plant and animal*, as seen in a similar periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to what we call *sleep*; as seen in the *death-spasm*, which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This *unity* in *organic life* is also exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is *heart-beat*; it appears in the identical effects of stimulants, anæsthetics and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues. This physiological identity in the effect of drugs is regarded by leading physicians as of great significance in the scientific advance of Medicine; since here we have a means of testing the effect of drugs under conditions far simpler than those presented by the patient, far subtler too, as well as more humane than those of experiments on animals."

"Growth of plants and its variations under different treatment is instantly recorded by my *Crescograph.* Authorities expect this method of investigation will advance practical agriculture; since for the first time we are able to analyse and study separately the conditions which modify the rate of growth. Experiments which would have taken *months*, their results vitiated by unknown changes, can now be carried out in a *few minutes.*"

"Returning to pure science, no phenomena in plant-life are so extremely varied or have yet been more incapable of generalisation than the 'tropic' movements, such as the twining of tendrils, the heliotropic movements of some towards and of others, away from light, and the opposite geotropic movements of the root and shoot in the direction of gravitation or away from it. My latest investigations have established a *single fundamental reaction* which underlies effects so extremely diverse."

"Finally, I may say a word of that other new and unexpected chapter which is opening out from my demonstration of '*nervous*' impulse in plants. The *speed* with which the nervous impulse courses through the plant has been determined; its nervous excitability and the variation of that excitability have likewise been measured. The nervous impulse in plant and in man is found exalted or inhibited under identical conditions. We may even follow this parallelism in what seem extreme cases. A plant carefully protected under glass from outside shocks, looks sleek and flourishing, but its higher nervous function is then found to be atrophied. But when a succession of blows is rained on this effete and bloated specimen, the shocks themselves create nervous channels and arouse anew the deteriorated nature."

Results of the Researches.

These lines have been quoted at length to give, in a nutshell, and in the eloquent words of the Master himself which cannot be surpassed, the aim and object of the remarkable researches of this great Indian Scientist which are still being carried on by him and his colleagues at the Bose Institute at Calcutta. The fruits of "whole-hearted devotion and faith" of this band of workers have been so far given to the World in the following:—

1. "Response in the Living and the Non-living," published in 1902.
2. "Plant Response as a means of Physiological Investigation," published in 1906.
3. "Comparative Electro-physiology—a Physico-physiological Study," published in 1907.
4. "Researches on Irritability of Plants," published in 1913.
5, 6 and 7. "Life Movements in Plants, Vol. I," published in 1918.
   Do. Vol. II, published in 1919.
   Do. Vol. III & IV, ,, in 1923.
8. "The Physiology of the Ascent of Sap," published in 1923.
9. "The Physiology of Photo-Synthesis," published in 1924.
10. "The Nervous Mechanism of Plants," published in 1926.

It is the last two volumes, (9) and (10) above, which are under notice in this article.

The Physiology of Photo-Synthesis.

In the Preface the Author says that "*Photo-Synthesis* is the name now generally attached to one of the fundamental cosmic processes, the one that underlies the great primitive industry of Agriculture. It is, therefore, a process which should be completely understood."

He then gives a brief historical sketch of the progress of the discovery of this Cosmic process, mentioning that as has been so often the case in scientific research, the starting point was an *accidental* observation, in 1772, of the celebrated Priestley, in his investigations on the Air, regarding the place and function of *Vegetation* in the processes of Nature. Priestley was followed by his friend Perceval who came to the conclusion that "fixed air instead of being *destructive* to vegetation, was the proper pabulum of vegetables, making them to flourish much more than they could do in other circumstances," thus placing the matter on the right basis.

Briefly described are the subsequent researches of Ingenhousz and Senebier; and important progress was marked by the publication, in 1804, of Saussure's *Recherches Chimiques.* Saussure's experiments establisbed that

(1) a green plant exposed to light absorbs carbon dioxide and evolves a rather smaller volume of oxygen,
(2) the plant at the same time assimilates the elements of water, and
(3) the gaseous interchange is accompanied by an increase in the dry weight of the plant.

Thus was clearly defined "the bearing of the gaseous interchange upon the *nutrition* of the plant and a *beginning* was made in the direction of the *quantitative* estimation of the process."

This was the stage reached in the beginning of the 19th century.

Answers to such vital questions as "what is the part played by light in the process," "what is the function of the Chlorophyll," "what is the nature of the organic substance formed," came slowly forth as the Century progressed. So that it might appear that almost everything that could be known about photosynthesis had been ascertained. But Sir Jagadis points out that although it might be admitted that this was approximately so in the *qualitative* sense, it was certainly not so in the *quantitative* and that "it is not yet possible to attach definite numerical values to the efficiency of light of various wave-length and energy; nor to the effect of a rise of temperature or of a variation in the amount of available carbon-dioxide, upon the activity of photo-synthesis."

The "Physiology of Photo-Synthesis" is essentially a record of *Quantitative* research in these various directions. What is most remarkable is and what is *characteristic* of other work carried on by and under the direction of this scientist is, that "the *Experiments have been carried out by means of a variety of highly sensitive instruments specially devised for the different objects in view and the results have been recorded automatically and are at least free from the error of the personal equation.*"

The book is divided into twenty-eight chapters and there are sixty illustrations. "All vital activity," says the Wizard of the Bose Institute, "whether of animal or of plant is ultimately traceable to the energy of solar radiation. The animal derives its energy from vegetable food. The plant, by virtue of its chlorophyll, absorbs both solar energy and carbon dioxide and builds up organic matter charged with latent energy. This is, in fact, the prime source of all organic matter as well as of the energy that is set free on its combustion. To stand before a coalfire is to bask in the sunshine of the carboniferous period. It is to this constructive or synthetic activity of the plant that the term photo-synthesis has been applied."

At the end of the book, in Chapter 28, Sir Jagadis gives a "general review" of the results obtained—marvellous and surprising in all conscience. Marvellous indeed is the Law of product or of multiplication.

It is difficult to restrain oneself from quoting again at length :

"The general law of photo-synthesis for variation of the individual factors of temperature, of CO_2-concentration, of light and of tonic condition is expressed by $\frac{A}{T}$ is a constant; $\frac{A}{C}$ is a constant; $\frac{A}{L}$ is a constant; $\frac{A}{P}$ is a constant. The change in photo-synthetic activity under the variation of *one* factor is found from the laws of photo-synthesis established by experimental results described in Chapter 26. In nature, however, all the different factors—CO_2-concentration, intensity of light, temperature and the tonic condition of the plant—are changing *simultaneously*, each in different ways. The possible different combinations of them are too numerous for experimental investigation of all of them. The results obtained in the cases selected prove that the *characteristic* effect of such factor is *unaffected* by the effect produced by the others; that is to say, if the increase of photo-synthetic activity due to three of the principal factors—

by change from c to C be x
" " l to L " y
" " t to T " z

then the resulting *variation* in activity by *simultaneous* change in all the factors from c l t to CLT, will be xyz or the *product* of the *partial* effects induced by the individual factors. This, in contrast with arithmetical *summation*, is designated as the Law of product or of multiplication. This Law of Combined effects of different factors in photo-synthesis is expressed by the formula "$\frac{A}{CLTP}$ is a constant." And again "the adoption of the *absolute scale* in physiological measurements (*vide* Chapter 26) has led to the establishment of a simple law of photo-synthesis." An analogy is drawn from physics, as giving some idea of the difficulties involved in the *quantitative* estimates of the *combined* effects of changing factors in life processes. "Before the discovery of the law of dilation of Gases, the changing volume of a gas under variation of pressure and temperature, must have caused great perplexity. It was the establishment of the law that $\frac{PV}{T}$ is a constant that led to very important advances in physics; in chemistry not even an elementary advance would have been possible without the application of this law."

"The complicating factors in photo-synthesis are far more numerous; it is hoped that the introduction of measurement on the physiological scale and the establishment of the Law of product will lead to as great an advance in Plant physiology as the introduction of absolute measurement has accomplished in physical science." The writer hopes that in plant physiology, as in the domain of physics, a Van der Waal may yet appear to modify the simple Law of product'

The Nervous Mechanism of Plants.

This is the latest production of Sir Jagadis and has been dedicated to Rabindranath Tagore, the life-long friend of the scientist. The book which is excellently printed consists of seventeen chapters, contains eighty illustrations and a general review of its contents is given, as in the previous work, in the last chapter.

In the preface Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose has given a resumé of his labours which justify to him the conclusion that the investigations which he has carried on for the last quarter of a century, establish the generalisation that the physiological mechanism of the plant is identical with that of the animal; for, there is hardly any phenomenon of irritability observed in the animal which is also not discoverable in the plant. In the words of the author " in the multicellular animal organism as higher complexity was attained, it was accompanied by the gradual evolution of a nervous system, by which the different organs are put in intimate connection with each other and their various activities co-ordinated for ensuring the common good of the organism. Such connecting nervous links had not been suspected in the plant, commonly regarded as distinctly lower in the scale of evolution. The researches described in the present work show that, not only has a nervous system been evolved in the plant but that it has reached a *very high degree of perfection* as marked by the reflex arc in which a *sensory* becomes transformed into a *motor* impulse. The characteristics of the two impulses and the definitely distinct channels for their conduction, can be studied with greater certainty and accuracy (thanks to the wonderful instruments devised for the purpose at the Bose institute) in the plant than in the animal. And it may be confidently expected that the broader outlook of the *unity* of physiological mechanism in *all* life will lead to a great advance in the physiological investigation of all living tissues." May this hope of this ardent and indomitable student of Nature whose persistent labours in the face of great difficulties and discouragement, have thrown light on many a dark process of Nature, be fulfilled!

But although much has been done, much surely remains to be done in the line of researches in Plant physiology carried on at the Bose Institute in Calcutta. As remarked in Nature for July 31, 1926, page 159, " taking together this book (Nervous Mechanism of Plants and that on the Ascent of Sap, it may be generally stated that Sir J. C. Bose's researches have established the existence in the vascular plants, at least, of a *circulatory* and of a *nervous* system, using the terms in a *loose general way*. The "circulatory system" includes neither 'heart' nor 'veins' consisting entirely of strands of propulsive cells distributed throughout the plant, representing a contractile arterial system; similarly in the "nervous system" there are no central organs, such as 'brain,' 'spinal cord,' or even 'ganglia'—only *nerves*, of which some have been shown to be 'sensory,' others to be 'motor.' May the carefully selected scholars, (at the Bose Institute) of whom there are at present about sixteen and who are admitted on the condition that *they devote themselves wholly to the prosecution of research*, *not as a* *means of livelihood*, or *for the satisfaction of personal ambition*, but, in the words of the Founder, "in order to realize an *inner call* to devote one's whole life to the infinite struggle to *win knowledge for its own sake* and *to see Truth face to face*," develop the work of their Master and by fresh discoveries with which Nature always rewards her true votaries, demonstrate the thesis of the *unity of all life ! !*

A. C. BOSE

OUR VANISHED DAYS

Another day has gone !—
Dropped into the unfathomable sea—
The dark and-awesome sea—Eternity !
Just one small pebble midst the centuries
Of misspent days—of precious, wasted days !
Whence do they go ?—the days—the bright, the sad ?
The days of youth, all filled with careless joy,
With faith and hope, and merry, gladsome song,
With pleasures strown like flowers along the way !
The days of love, all filled with pain and bliss ;
When first we find that roses have sharp thorns.
The days of aspirations—reaching out
To catch the bubbles,—fame and wealth and life ;
Or grovel in the dust to seek for place
Amid the eager, pushing, heartless throng !
The days when Beauty fills our Souls with awe,
And Inspiration stirs her fledgeling wings
When we first glimpse the Vision from afar.
Days of fulfilment, when Fate's shuttle weaves
The threads of gold and scarlet through our lives.
The days of marriage and of parenthood—
When the great miracle of birth takes place,
And we look deep into an infant's eyes,
And see the wisdom of the gods therein !
The mellow days of disillusions sere—
The days of hard and bitter duties done,
That touch the lips with sacrificial oils,
And crowns the brow with silver 'mid the thorns.
The days when Opportunity passed by
And lingered ; but we heeded not her call.

The days of blistered feet and tortured hearts,—
When on Life's narrow, rocky path we view
Ideals laid low, and Hope with pinions torn,
And in renunciation—find sweet peace.
The days when Death seals eye-lids softly down,
And scatters violets on the lips and brow,—
When Souls set free look briefly back and leaves
A glory and a wonder on the face,
To teach that Death is but transcendent Life.
Where go the days ?—those multitudes of days ?
Does Heaven reach down and draw them up as stars,
And thus adorn God's firmament anew ?
Do they become the flowers of Paradise,
All coloured, as we've spent those vanished hours ?
All perfumed with our deeds, and thoughts, and words,
To make a Garden wherein we can rest—
When we have passed through that grey, fearsome sea,
And reach the Realm where Time and Seas are not ?
Where have they gone—our wasted, vanished days ?

TERESA STRICKLAND

EMPIRE UNIVERSITIES CONGRESS

The first Congress of the Universities of the Empire which I had the privilege of attending was held in London in 1912. Before that year, the Universities were isolated units, each a law unto itself, formulating their policy with little knowledge of the policy of others.

The remarkable success of the first session led to the decision that it was desirable that the Congress should reassemble every five years and that for the purpose of keeping the Universities in touch during this interval a Central Bureau should be established. This Bureau, the setting up of which in 1919 was probably the longest step in advance taken by the Universities in modern times, has no executive powers. Its members report to their several councils and senates the opinions expressed by their colleagues and the action which the majority seemed to favour. By correspondence the Bureau exercises a similar though less intensive co-ordinating influence throughout the empire.

The Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Balfour, Chancellor of the Universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh opened the first day's proceedings, the subject of the discussion being "The State and the University." I cannot resist the temptation of giving quotations largely from the inaugural address which are not only interesting but are extremely pertinent in view of the attitude of the Government towards our University. Said the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Balfour :

> "Modern education was very expensive compared with the education even of 100 years ago or less. The scientific side alone was enormously costly in these modern days. We could develop what our forefathers had done only by the very expensive methods which modern apparatus inevitably threw upon every institution which carried out its work properly. If the State were asked to subscribe large funds there would always be a

natural and pardonable instinct on the part of the State to control and supervise the working of the Institution which they were doing so much to support. It was natural but it was extremely dangerous. He did not think that in the older Universities in England there was any probability of that danger becoming menacing to any serious extent. They had received assistance from the State in this country but their traditions were deeply rooted, and he did not think there was any serious symptom of any Government attempting to interfere with University autonomy which whether *well or ill exercised was at the worst far better than State control.*"

In my address I observed that the weighty words which fell from the lips of the Chairman—in fact, words of wisdom or rather concentrated wisdom—ought to be broadcasted. Reuter's agency, at any rate, should send a summary of the speech to India and by the next mail the full report of it should go out. It was much to be wished that the speech would not fall on deaf ears, so far as the authorities in India were concerned.

I wish to add an important remark of Dr. Alexander Hill, the indefatigable secretary of the Universities Bureau on "The State and the University" which, I am sure, will be read with profit and interest. Dr. Hill said:

"The State and the University calls to mind the constantly increasing support which the State has given to higher education in recent years; but the doctrine that State control is implicit in financial support assumes differing degrees of importance in the minds of University authorities in the Homeland and in the various Dominions overseas. In Britain successive governments have proved as resolute as the most conservative of dons could wish in leaving to the Universities absolute discretion in the spending of their grants. Not the faintest trace of dictation or of political influence is to be observed over selection of members of staff, or on the scope or character of their teaching. Probably all speakers will agree that such freedom alone safeguards the health of Universities."

The concluding portions of Earl Balfour's speech are highly interesting.

"If men engaged in the most diverse occupations daily meet together in intellectual and social intercourse, some of the greatest evils of over-specialization would be very largely mitigated. The material progress of mankind undoubtedly depended upon the application of modern science to modern industry but, while universities ought to play an immense part in that aspect of modern industry, it would be a fatal blow to the true ideal of the University to put immediate practical utility as the great ideal which the researches of a University should keep before their minds. There was always the danger when they were dealing with science in its application to industry, of looking for immediate results. Higher research and the endeavour to penetrate the secrets of nature for the sake of knowledge and not for the sake of material advantage was an ideal which must have its roots in the Universities. If they regarded themselves merely as ministers to the immediate economic needs and interests of the community in which they lived, half their utility would be gone as centres of research."

What, after all, is the true function of the University? Dr. Alexander Hill observed:

"From the middle ages onward it has been recognised in varying degrees that Universities are not merely marts for the distribution of existing knowledge but mines in which workers search for hitherto undiscovered truths. Although implicit for ages, it is only in recent years that the principle has been regarded as of general application that the utility of a University can only be gauged by the output of new knowledge of its professors and the success of its post-graduation schools. Where there is no zeal for research, there is no vitality in teaching."

I could assure the Congress that our University can now well afford to take its place alongside of other sister Universities of Britain, thanks to the life-long efforts of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the "unforgettable and unrequitable services rendered to the University in this direction by him" to quote the happy words of appreciation of Lord Ronaldshay.

The second day's proceedings began under the chairmanship of the Marquis of Londonderry, the subject being "Co-operation and Research throughout the Empire."

In course of my speech I observed:

"Ours is a typical bureaucratic government, where everything is to be done for the people and nothing by the people. We have the great scientific departments in the Imperial Service. One of the preceding speakers, Sir Thomas Holland, has referred at length to the activities of these departments. It so happens, however, that partly during the official career of Sir Thomas Holland, but chiefly after his retirement, there have been enormous developments in the progress of chemistry and physics, at any rate under the auspices of the Calcutta University. The system, which now obtains in India is out of date. Our Universities ought to be helped and encouraged to carry out much of the work which is being undertaken by the Government Departments. There was unnecessary overlapping as well as waste of energy. The Indian Industrial Commission, over which Sir Thomas Holland presided, made recommendations to the effect that India ought to be as far as possible self-contained in matters of defence. It was my humble lot as a member of the Chemical Service Committee to write the minority report in which I differed from my colleagues and urged that the Universities ought to be given every facility for carrying on research, having for their object industrial progress, and that a hierarchy of Chemical Service, chiefly filled by recruits from England, would prove to be a failure. I might, perhaps, be allowed to indulge in a bit of plain speaking. We are turning out a good many chemists who are taking their Doctorates not only in the Home Universities but also in those of London, Manchester, Edinburgh, etc. They are giving a good account of themselves and some of them have earned a European reputation. Why should not they be admitted into the Chemical Warfare Departments? Then, again, aviation is going to play a great part in the future and India is being called upon to incur considerable expenditure in perfecting it. In this branch you require a combination of mathematical, chemical, physical and engineering talents, but somehow or other Indians are rigidly excluded. Unless we can open out careers to our hopeful aspirants, the progress of science will receive a set-back. Trust begets trust and political considerations should not be allowed to creep in. I plead for giving extended employment and scope to Indian talents. You are speaking of co-operation throughout the Empire. Lord Morley once said from his place in the Upper House that after all India was the 'only' Empire. Minus India and the Indians, where can you have an Empire?"

It fell to my lot to visit the following Universities:—

Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin National University, Belfast, Queen's College, Edinburgh and Cambridge.

The hospitality extended to us was cordial as well as lavish. We were received in some cases as guests of the

University professors and sometimes as guests of the different colleges as at Cambridge. The utility of such a Congress is not to be measured by the direct and tangible result accruing from it. Its indirect moral effect is far-reaching. When the representatives of the Colonial and Indian Universities meet in conclave with those of the sister Universities in Great Britain and discuss various matters relating to advanced study and research, compare notes and take stock of all they had been doing, nothing but good can come out of it. Moreover, the social element is a great asset. Many deep-rooted prejudices are uprooted. "One touch of nature maketh the whole world kin" as the poet says.

P. C. RÂY

T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ

Gaṇapati Śāstrī died on the 8th of April last, at the age of 60 years. Contemporary India had no name more celebrated or more respected in Sanskritic studies; his name will remain associated with the discovery and publication of several important texts. I may be permitted here to recall the circumstances which put us first into touch with each other, about twenty years ago. Gaṇapati Śāstrī was at that time Principal of the Trivandrum College, in the Indian State of Travancore. He had sent to my address, without having known me before (no doubt finding my name in some list taken up by chance) some insignificant publication, of which I no longer remember the name, written in a Sanskrit refined to the point of being almost pedantic; but under the laboriously chiselled form it seemed to me that I felt a real and solid intelligence. I advised him, if I may say so, to write a small elementary manual of Indian culture in a simpler language, accessible to beginners. I traced the plan for it, he was good enough to follow my indications and in 1905 he published the *Bhāratānuvarṇana* with a preface which he had requested me to contribute. I had thus the honour of awakening in him the taste for research and interest for the past which since then have dominated and directed all his activities.

Gaṇapati Śāstrī had the good fortune to enter into the service of one of the royal families of India in which the culture and practice of writing Sanskrit poetry have always found fervent followers. Mahārāja Rāma Varma (1857-1924) decided, in 1904, to create, in the state press a Devanāgarī section and to publish therefrom texts which had not yet been published and which were preserved in the palace library.

He entrusted the direction of the enterprise to Gaṇapati Śāstrī. The adoption of the Devanāgarī character for a series published in Travancore marked a new phase in India's progress towards realising its unity. The local character, the Malayalam, ran the risk of remaining sealed to more than 90 per cent. of Indian readers; the Devanāgarī has quickly become a national script accessible to the whole of the cultured public. Guided by a delicate sense of propriety, Gaṇapati began by publishing, outside the series, two poems of the grand-uncle of the Mahārāja, Svāti Śrī Rāmavarman, *viz.*, *Bhaktimañjarī* and *Syānandurapuravarṇana*. Then, with a grammatical treatise, the *Daiva*, he began this magnificent *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, to-day rich in 84 volumes of which it will not be superfluous to give the classified list here.

GRAMMAR.

Daiva with the commentary *Puruṣakāra* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśukamuni (1): *Durghaṭavṛtti* by Śāraṇadeva (6); *Vāraruca-saṅgraha* with the *Dīpaprabhā* of Nārāyaṇa (33); *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (46); *Sphoṭasiddhinyāya-vicāra* (54).

POETRY.

Abhinavakaustubhamālā and *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśukamuni (2); *Nalābhyudaya* by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa (3); *Śivalīlārṇava* by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (4); *Nārayaṇīya* by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa with the commentary of Deśamaṅgala Varya (18); *Jānakīpariṇaya* by Cakrakavi (24); *Kumārasambhava*, with two commentaries, *Prakāśikā* by Aruṇagirinātha, and *Vivaraṇa* by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita (27, 32, 36); *Raghuvīracarita* (57); *Laghustuti* by Laghubhaṭṭāraka, with the commentary of Rāghavānanda (60); *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, with the commentary *Śabdārthadīpikā* of Citrabhānu (63, Sargas 1-3); *Meghasandeśa* (*Meghadūta*) of Kālidāsa, with the commentary of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (64).

ART OF POETICS AND COMPOSITION.

Vyaktiviveka, by Mahima Bhaṭṭa (5); *Alaṅkāra Sūtras* by Rājānaka Ruyyaka, with the commentary of Maṅkhuka and the gloss of Samudrabandha (40); *Rasārṇavasudhākara* by Śinga Bhūpāla (50).

DRAMA.

Pradyumnābhyudaya by Ravivarmabhūpa (8); *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa* by Kulaśekharavarman, with the commentary of Śivarāma (11); *Subhadrādhanañjaya* by the same with the commentary of the same (13); *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa (15); *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa (16); *Pañcarātra* of Bhāsa (17); *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa (20); *Bālacarita* of Bhāsa (21); *Madhyamavyāyoga*, *Dūtavākya*, *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*, *Karṇabhāṇa*, and *Urubhaṅga* of Bhāsa (22); *Abhiṣekanāṭaka* of Bhāsa (26); *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa (39); *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa (42); *Mattavilāsaprahasana* by Mahendravikramavarman (55); *Nāgānanda* of Śrīharṣa, with the commentary of Śivarāma (59).

PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.

A. Vedānta: *Brahmatattvaprakāśikā* by Sadāśivendra Sarasvatī (7); *Virūpākṣapañcāśikā* by Virūpākṣanātha, with the commentary of Vidyācakravartin (9); *Paramārthasāra* by Bhagavad Ādiśeṣa, with the commentary of Rāghavānanda (12); *Siddhāntasiddhāñjana* by Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī (47, 48, 58, 61); *Śabdanirṇaya* by Prakāśātma Yatīndra (53); *Īśvarapratipattiprakāśa* by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (73).

B. Nyāya: *Kāṇādasiddhāntacandrikā* by Gaṅgādharasūri (25); *Maṇidarpaṇa* by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Makhin (34); *Maṇisāra* by Gopīnātha (35).

C. Mīmaṁsā: *Mānameyodaya* by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita (19).

D. *Sarvamatasaṅgraha* (62).

LEXICOGRAPHY.

Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa by Keśavasvāmin (23, 29, 31); *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* by Amarasiṁha, with the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin and of Vandyaghāṭīya Sarvānanda (38, 43, 51, 62).

POLITICS.

Nītisāra by Kāmandaka, with the commentary of Śankarācārya (14); *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, with the commentary of Gaṇapati Śāstrī (79, 80, 82).

RITUAL, LEGISLATION, CUSTOMS.

Vaikhānasadharmapraśna (28); *Aśaucāṣṭaka* by Vararuci (37); *Adhyātmapaṭala* by Āpastamba, with the commentary of Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda (41); *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* with the commentary *Bālakrīḍā* by Viśvarūpācārya (74, 81); *Aśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra* with the commentary *Anāvila* by Haradattācārya (78).

TANTRA AND ĀGAMA.

Tantrasudhā by Bhaṭṭāraka Vedottama (44); *Mahārthamañjarī* with the commentary *Parimala* by Maheśvarānanda (66); *Īśānadevagurupaddhati* (69, 72, 77, 83); *Tantrasamuccaya* by Nārāyaṇa, with the commentary *Vimarṣiṇī* by Śaṅkara (67, 71); *Tattvaprakāśa* by Bhojadeva, with the commentary *Tātparyadīpikā* by Kumāra (60).

BUDDHISM.

Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa (76, 78, 84).

TECHNICAL.

A. Jyotiṣa : *Goladīpikā* by Parameśvara (49).

B. Śilpa: *Vāstuvidyā* (30); *Manuṣyālayacandrikā* (56); *Mayamata* (65); *Śilparatna* (75).

C. Gajalakṣaṇa : *Mātaṅgalīlā* by Nīlakaṇṭha (10).

D. General: *Prapañcahṛdaya* (45).

This simple enumeration shows the variety of matter represented in this collection. Gaṇapati Śāstrī took an interest in all subjects, prepared all texts with the same scrupulous care and supervised their printing with the same zeal. Thanks to him the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* had got the stamp of being a series of the first order from the beginning and has always maintained it ; in Indology it has replaced the beautiful *Kāvyamāla* series which has disappeared owing to the indifference in India and the want of a sufficient number of subscribers. The perfect mastery with which he handled the Sanskrit language is evident from the introductions, often lengthy, which he placed at the beginning of his editions ; the commentary which he had undertaken to compose for his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* bears another proof of it. It is known what sensation (not yet subsided) was started by the publication of the dramatic works which he thought should be attributed to Bhāsa. His conviction, adopted by the majority of the scholars in India and in the West, has met with passionate adversaries. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.* It can be presumed, however, that an agreement will be arrived at by a solution half-way. By drawing attention to the strange survival of the Sanskrit drama in Malabar, Gaṇapati has enriched the history of Indian drama with a new and important chapter. In the enthusiasm of his discovery, Gaṇapati has not hesitated to claim for Bhāsa a date anterior even to Pāṇini. Formed in the school of Indian tradition, limited to the cultivation of Sanskrit, a stranger to other languages and literatures and to the histories of other peoples, Gaṇapati had preserved the mental habits of a *pundit* brought up in dialectics and closed to our conceptions. I will mention a striking case to the point.

I had pointed out to him that the *Nāṭyadarpana,* which had not yet been published, and of which a manuscript had been sent to me (*cf. Journal Asiatique,* 1923, II, pp. 197 ff.) expressly quotes a verse from 'the *Svapnavāsavadattā* composed by Bhāsa'; but this verse is not found in the drama of the same name published by Gaṇapati. This difference, along with other indications already mentioned, rendered the attribution of the anonymous dramas to Bhāsa still more doubtful. At this time Gaṇapati was preparing a new edition of the text; he hastened to insert the verse which I had made known to him, and in a note he took care to inform the reader that this verse, which had disappeared from the text owing to the fault of the copyist, at last found its legitimate place.

The edition of the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, duly finished a few months before the death of Gaṇapati, is a capital service (very little appreciated still) which this orthodox *pundit* will have rendered to Buddhistic studies. Csoma de Körös, in his analysis of the *Kanjur*, had already pointed out the great interest of this *tantra* 'frequently quoted by Thibetan authors, and wherein has been introduced a large number of truly historical facts relating to the lives of princes who have favoured or persecuted Buddhism in India.' The text published by Gaṇapati agrees exactly with the Tibetan translation; based as it is on a single manuscript, it is surprising to find an entire work in such good order, and all the more so in as much as Gaṇapati knew nothing about Buddhism. The 53rd *paṭala* forms, without any doubt, the most complete historical picture which ancient India has left us: a critical edition based upon a comparison of the Sanskrit with the Tibetan and accompanied by a translation, is a most urgent task which is incumbent upon scholars, and the initial merit of it will go to Gaṇapati.

Gaṇapati who had already passed his 60th year was still full of projects. On the cover of the last fascicule of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* (No. 84: *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, Part III) he had announced the following works in the press:

1. *Kāvyaprakāśa* with the commentaries of Vidyācakravartin (*Sampradāyaprakāśinī*) and of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (*Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*).

2. *Viṣṇusaṁhitā* (*Āgama*).

3. *Ślokavārtikā* (*Mīmāṁsā*) with the *Kāśikāṭīkā* of Sucaritamiśra.

4. *Bharatacarita* (*Kāvya*) of Kṛṣṇācārya.

5. *Saṅgītamayasāra* of Saṁgītakara Pārśvadeva.

6. *Rasavaiśeṣika* (*Vaidya*) by Bhadanta Nāgārjuna, with the *Bhāṣya* of Narasiṁha.

Besides these, the following were 'in preparation':—

1. *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-bhāṣya* with the *Bhāṣya* of Devasvāmin.

2. *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa* (*Mīmāṁsā*) by Sarvajñātmapāda.

3. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja, with the *Vṛtti* of Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha.

4. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with the commentary *Hṛdayabodhikā*.

5. *Nyāyasārapadapañcikā* of Vāsudeva.

6. *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, with the commentary of Peddadīkṣita.

7. *Bhāmatītilaka* (*Vedānta*), by Allalasūri.

Such a formidable task left Gaṇapati still leisure enough to collaborate even in other collections; the very week of his death, the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, published in Baroda under the auspices of the Mahārāja, issued the second and last volume of an encyclopaedia of engineering, *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, attributed to king Bhoja. The first volume contained, in Chapter XXXI, descriptions of machines which seem to reveal a technique really extraordinary, for example, 'the flying machine, in the shape of a bird, made of light wood, having in the interior an apparatus of mercury, a fireplace placed below; the force of the sleeping (? heated: *suptasya* for *taptasya* ?) mercury sets the two wings moving, the man sitting in the machine goes to long distances in the sky' (vv. 95-96). Here also a complete translation is very necessary; if the test be authentic, India in the 11th century must be said to have at least conceived, if not realised, engines which no one expected. The only manuscript dated belongs to the 16th or 17th centuries. I had written to Gaṇapati that he had to give some precise information about the two other (incomplete) manuscripts of the work, one of which at least seems to date also from 16-17th century. Instead of replying to me personally by letter, Gaṇapati thought fit to publish the explanations publicly in the preface to the second volume. These explanations are so characteristic of his manner that I reproduce them here:

'It may be said that since the different machines mentioned in this work have never before been known either by sight or heresay, they are nothing but the products of imagination, and that they are not real machines manufactured and used in practice. This is not the case, for even things which have existed come, in course of time, to be considered unreal because they have gone out of use and things which cost a good deal of labour, time and money are liable easily to go out of use.

'It may be asked why the poet has not described the mode of construction of the machines. The poet himself furnishes the reply in Chapter XXXI, v. 79:

Yantrāṇāṁ ghaṭanā noktā—guptyarthaṁ, nājñatāvaśāt:
tatra hetur ayaṁ jñeyo, vyaktā naite phalapradāḥ.

'The gist of the verse is that, "if the methods are revealed in the work, the first comer, without having received the initiation from a master, will try to construct the machines, and an attempt made by such a person will not only be fruitless, but will even end in annoyances and difficulties. Neither is it rare, in the case of machines of public utility, that the methods for their construction are kept secret."'

And now, what is going to become of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*? What is going to become of the materials gathered by Gaṇapati for further publication? And—I may be excused for asking the question—what is going to become of the family of this great scholar? It is my duty to speak of it, because Gaṇapati, whose life was consecrated to study, and who received a salary unworthy of his merit, was painfully anxious about the future in store for his near ones after his death. His merits even brought him enemies who worked for his fall. On the 27th October last, a decision of the Mahārāṇī entrusted with the regency made him retire from service. He announced the news to me without comment:

Bālasyātratyamahārājasya pratinidhībhūya gatavarṣa-septembaramāsād ārabhya rājyaṁ śāsatyā śrī-Mahārājñyā adyaprabhṛti rājakīyādhikārād viśramito'smīti vṛttāntaviśeṣaś ca vedyate. Śubhaṁ bhūyāt.

'May everything be for the best!' Such was the desire he expressed after this sad news. Everything will be for the best if the Government of Travancore will honour worthily the memory of a servant who has done them so much honour and who has rendered the name of Trivandrum dear to all those who love and cultivate the glories of India's past.

I transcribe here, as a specimen of its kind, the stanza in *sragdharā* metre which Gaṇapati's son sent me by way of intimation; it will be observed with what precision of astronomical details the exact moment of death is fixed; as is the custom in the South, the year is designated only by the place which it occupies in the sixty years' cycle (*Bṛhaspati cakra*):

abde' smin krodhanākhye dinakṛti kakubhaṁ rājarājasya yāte,
mīnākhye māsi kṛṣṇe surapratibhayute mandavāre ca ṣaṣṭhyāṁ,
antarvāṇīprakāṇḍaṁ jagati suvidito' nekasadgranthakartā
tāto Vañcīśamānyo Gaṇapatikavirāḍ dhāma yātaḥ paraṁ naḥ.

SYLVAIN LÉVI

Translated from the *Journal Asiatique* by Subodh Chandra Mukerji, M.A. (Calcutta), D.-ès-L. (Paris).

Reviews

Islamica—The fourth part of Volume I and the first part of Volume II of the Islamica—just issued—retain their old level of scholarship. They are a credit and glory to Dr. Fischer who has laid the entire Islamic world under a deep obligation. His own learning is stupendous and equally so is his zeal for Islamic culture. The establishment and continuance of a quarterly of such high merit as Islamica proves that, despite the multiplicity of journals and quarterlies, there is still room for another.

Were all the articles in German, Islamica would have been of little help or guidance outside the Germanic world, but Professor Fischer has guarded against such a contingency. It contains articles in other languages too—notably in English—and this, to my mind, is Islamica's most enduring charm. Each issue contains a couple of articles or so in English. Apart from the wide circulation which this policy will ensure—the introduction of articles in the English language will bring home to Easterns the fruits of European researches and scholarship.

Nor is this all. Out in the East nothing is more needed in Oriental studies than the introduction of modern critical methods. That European methods are fast influencing the East is a proposition which will scarcely be denied but what we do need and, imperatively too, is to come into direct contact with European scholarship and to learn what it can teach us and, armed with its teaching, to apply the same methods to the materials that lie at hand before us. No study is worth the name which is not accurate, sound or critical.

To go on with Islamica. In part IV Khan Saheb Maulvi Abdul Wali writes on *Aurangzib's relations with Rajputs, Mahrattas and others.* His contributions are always weighty and his judgment is rarely at fault. On p. 430 the editor adds an interesting note on 'Jizya.' But I find both Shibli and Arnold left out there. Arnold is a model of thoroughness—Shibli of compactness. But this is by the way. It does not really touch the Khan Sahib's subject.

Dr. Bräunlich continues and concludes his remarkable article on 'Wells in ancient Arabia.' Amazing is his range of knowledge; amazing too is his industry. The entire Arabic literature has been used and, indeed, with meticulous care. Every reference, however distant or obscure, is there and not one single ray of light is withheld. This article will, indubitably, modify the view generally held that Arabia has always been afflicted by a double scourge; to wit, scarcity of water and food.

In his previous article Dr. Braünlich showed the abundance of wells in Arabia and notably in the neighbourhood of Mekka. On page 497 he tells us, "To facilitate the transport of water over large areas—for example among the palm-growing population—the people learned at a very early period to build channels and conduits, by means of which the water is carried to the desired spot. The most usual form is that in which the wet element which has been drawn from the well is poured through small canals leading to the actual plantations so as to water them. Conduits of this kind are often of considerable length and are divided up again into smaller channels; these latter, however, can be closed at the point where they branch off, so that the water which is let in can be regulated. The conduits are generally dug in the ground, lined with stones, and smeared over or even cemented."

To those who are interested in Arabia this article will be a revelation.

Dr. Krenkow's paper on 'The grant of land by Mohamed to Tamim Ad-Dari' calls for a passing notice. He believes that a grant was actually made by the Prophet. In fact he refers to Ibn Al-Athir (Usud-al-Ghaba) in support of his belief, but he rejects the document itself as a forgery.

In this view Dr. Krenkow is probably right. The forger's art apparently seems to have enjoyed special favour in the East, and those who have had anything to do with Oriental MSS. and medieval Islamic documents know how signatures and seals are forged; dates effaced and altered; fictitious names introduced and other false claims made; nay, at times, entire documents are manufactured and ante-dated to support or damage a cause; make or unmake a reputation.

I have in my possession MSS.—some with clever and others with clumsy forgeries. But they are all plausible enough to entrap the unwary or to impose upon facile credulity.

The first part of the second volume has a melancholy interest. It contains an article from the pen of the late Prof. Browne, alas, now no more. Who can measure the loss his death has caused to Islamic culture? For years have flowed from his pen books, articles, translations, enriching Eastern learning, enlarging the Eastern horizon, bringing the East and the West into closer relationship, perhaps, into an intimate, harmonious intellectual partnership. Death laughs at our despair. In this posthumous paper Prof. Browne tells us of his discovery, in an old Persian MS. which he purchased shortly before his death, of a parallel to the story of the Musnavi of Jalal-uddin Rumi of the Jewish king who persecuted the Christians. The story, as told here, is in a more primitive form than that in the Musnavi. The story is there, and it is not necessary to proceed further.

In his article '*Fasste Muhammed Seine Vrküudigung Als Eine Universalle, auch Für Nichtaraber Bestimmte Religion Auf*' Dr. Buhl discusses a vexed question: namely, did Mohamed intend his mission for Arabia only, or for the whole world. There are eminent scholars ranged on both sides. Nöldeke, Goldziher, Arnold think that Mohamed intended Islam for all mankind; whereas Lammens, Grimme, Snouck Hurgronje confine it to the land of his birth. Dr. Buhl's vote is given in favour of the latter circle; namely. the circle which denies the universality of the Prophet's mission. Dr. Buhl rejects the story of the messages and messengers which the Prophet is reported to have sent to Persia and Byzantium and argues that had that been the case, indications of missionary activities would have manifested themselves contemporaneously with these attempts. Dr. Buhl further points out that "even within the borders of Arabia the tendency to make Islam the only religion there is narrowed down by the permission given by the Prophet to Christians and Jews to maintain their religion on payment of a tax—Jizya and acknowledgment of his political sovereignty." Whether the Prophet ever dreamed of a world-wide extension is doubtful—says he;—in any case he never spoke of it or hinted at it in the smallest way. And yet Dr. Buhl concedes that by holding out Islam to the Arab tribes—within Persian and Roman territories—the Prophet made the universal sovereignty of Islam easy and possible.

Is it true that Islam was meant or intended for Arabia alone? Is there the slightest hint anywhere in the Qur'an or in the traditions—genuine or apocryphal—that the Prophet intended it for the Arabs alone? None whatever. Not one passage has been referred to or cited in support of this astonishing theory. And what is the key-note of Islam—Universality. And were fraternity and equality possible or conceivable without Universality? Who speaks through the pages of the Qur'an—not the Lord of the *Arabs* but of the Universe. And is it not this very Lord of the *Universe* who, abrogating all existing religions, offers this new revelation for guidance unto mankind? Why this gift—if it was not for acceptance? Why the appeal to mankind—if only a fragment or a fraction was meant? Are we not told, with re-iterated emphasis, that the Light of Islam is the Light calculated to illumine the world.

Was Abu Bakr—were his contemporaries—ignorant of the Prophet's mind? What was the need of crossing the frontier of Arabia—if Islam was for Arabs and Arabia alone? What was the war-cry of early Islam—'Allah and His Faith.' The propagation of the Faith was the one consuming passion of early Muslims—their one engrossing duty unto death.

And, again, in the Abbasid period, the glory of the pious consisted in the number of converts he made—a clear proof that 'conversion' was regarded as a meritorious act. Not from the Qur'an—not from the traditions—not from anything which the conduct of the Prophet suggested or supplied—not from any of these sources, indeed, does this theory receive support. It is a pure figment of the brain.

There are other articles too of equal interest and learning, but space will not permit of further discussion.

'Islamica' is indispensable not only to scholars but to all concerned in Islamic History and Civilization. May the revival of Islamic culture in Europe stir the languid pulses of my co-religionists of Bengal and draw them to more creditable and fruitful activities than has been the case hitherto!

S. Khuda Bukhsh.

Hindi Mahabharat : being the translation into Hindi prose of the original Sanskrit text of the Mahābhārata : to be published in 8 Vols., consisting of 40 monthly fascicules (=4,000 pages) by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad: Fascicule I, September, 1926 : Re. 1 and 4 as.

A publication like this, when complete, will fully deserve the epithet 'epoch-making' in Modern Hindi Literature. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have been the age-long inspiration of India in life as well as literature. Our modern Indian literatures have in most cases been born and brought to perfection in the atmosphere of these two deathless works. Adaptations of these poems are our classics in the current languages and dialects everywhere in India—and even outside India, in Burmese, in Mon or Talaing, in Khmer or Cambodian, in Siamese, in Malay, in Javanese, in Balinese. With the new renaissance of Sanskrit studies, as a necessary corollary to the awakening of the spirit of India by contact with that of England and Europe in the 19th century, literal translations of the entire poems went hand in hand with the publication of their original texts in some of the modern Indian languages, among which Bengali can boast of at least two such independent translations of each of these epics. The Indian Press of Allahabad, which has done so much for Hindi and Bengali literature and for the spread of Hindu culture since its establishment, has now taken up the publication of a new literal translation of the Mahābhārata; and it is an undertaking which is quite worthy of the great printing house so intimately associated with some of our most valuable vernacular publications. The present fascicule under review forms the first one, and there are expected to be 40 of them. Judging from this number, one can say that this will be the most sumptuous edition of the Mahābhārata ever published. The publishers promise us a good text as the basis of the translation; the translation itself has been done in simple and at the same time elegant Hindi. The work is printed on good paper and it is beautifully illustrated—with coloured plates, some of them of old Indian paintings—and with small pen-and-ink text illustrations. These latter are in many cases remarkably well-done, and do full credit to the artist, Mr. T. K. Mitra, who has sought to infuse a real old Indian spirit in his sketches in costume and in architecture. We would suggest to him to draw the war-chariot for the future parts of the work exactly as it was in ancient India—representations of which he will find in the most ancient bas-reliefs of India, in the Barhut and Sanchi sculptures, for instance. The happy co-operation of the Sanskrit scholar, of the Hindi translator and of the artist, with the publishers, as shown in the first fascicule, augurs well for the successful completion of the work as perhaps the best edition of this most important literary counterpart of India's cultural achievement in a modern Indian language. We hope that at the end, as a sort of Introduction, some competent scholar will give us indications as to the text followed, the method observed in making the translation, and other details, which will make clear to the reader the permanent value of the work.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras. The Secretaries are to be congratulated on the 'neat execution' and the 'expeditious publication' of the Report and Proceedings of the Third

All-India Oriental Conference. Like its forerunners, the present volume covers the entire field of oriental learning, and it is beyond the capacity of a single individual to do justice to its multifarious contents. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with noticing some of the more important papers and offering remarks on certain points likely to be of interest to the general reader.

The Presidential address while laying stress on the promotion of classical learning, justly emphasises the need of studying the Vernaculars which offer 'a rich harvest for the earnest reaper.' In the opening paper Mr. K. B. Ayyar points out how a study of Kauṭilya is helpful in understanding the hidden meanings and allusions in Kālidāsa's poems. It is not clear, however, why he fails to notice that the ideal of Dharmavijaya was known to Kauṭilya (see bk. xii, chapt. i). The remaining articles of the first section deal with matters relating to the Upanishads, the commentaries of Mallinātha, certain plays of Bāṇa and Bhāsa, the great epics, the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, etc. Texts of four hitherto unpublished Upanishads are edited and translated for the first time, and it is suggested that two more dramas should be added to the thirteen plays of Bhāsa made known to scholars by the great Śāstrī of Trivandrum. Sections II and III are devoted to Avestan and Buddhist studies. Perhaps the most interesting article from the point of view of the general reader is that on Varuna and Ahura Mazda by Dr. Zimmermann. Sections IV and V deal with philology and Dravidian Literature. An article from the pen of Dr. Shama Śāstrī contains interesting information about a Pāṇḍya King and his Śaiva contemporaries among whom we notice the names of the great Śaṅkara and his Guru. Sections VI and VII on Archæology and History include papers on diverse subjects like Indian architecture, the Barhut Votive Labels, the identification of Dionysius, the organisation of the Delhi Empire, Indian colonization of the Far East, "Puṣyamitra—who is he?," "Hinduism and Muhammadan heretics," etc. In the paper on Dionysius Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya summarily dismisses the identification of that deity with Śiva. May we draw his attention to the following verses of the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata (xiv. 156—161; *xvii*, 77)?—

हसते गायते चैव नृत्यते च मनोरम् ।
वादयत्यपि वाद्यानि विचित्राणि गणैर्युतः ॥
वल्गते जृम्भते चैव रुदते रोदयत्यपि ।
उन्मत्त मत्तरूपश्च भाषते चापि सुस्वरः ॥

* * *

क्रीड़ते ऋषिकन्याभि ऋषिपत्नीभिरेव च ।
ऊर्द्धकेशो महाशिफो नग्नो विकृत लोचनः ॥

* * *

लिङ्गाध्यक्षः सुराध्यक्षो यो गाध्यक्षोयुगावहः ।

The author of the paper on Puṣyamitra seeks to prove that the famous king of that name was not a Śuṅga, but a 'Baimbika' contemporary of Chandràgupta Maurya. He bases his conclusion on certain passages of the extant Matsya Purāṇa. As he deals rather summarily with Bāṇa's Harshacharita, it is perhaps useless to draw his attention to the evidence contained in the Divyāvadāna about Puṣyamitra's posteriority to Aśoka, and his connection with the city of Pāṭaliputra. Sections VIII--X deal with philosophy, science, sociology, etc., and the concluding sections, with Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and miscellaneous topics. Among the more interesting papers in these sections may be mentioned "Bodhāyana and Dramidācārya" by Prof. Kappuswami Sāstri, "Is Dhāmat Religion Buddhism ?" by Kumar Ganganand Sinha, and "The Nurbakhshi seat" by Mr. Mohamed Shafi. The article on the Huns (pp. 655 ff.) is rather disappointing. There are references to this people in *more than* two Indian books (*contra*, p. 656). Lei-lih is a fictitious name (see Smith, EHI, 3, p. 310n) and there is no authentic evidence of a Hun victory over Skandagupta "in or about 465 A. C." It is a pity that Skanda is still supposed to have lived till 480 A. C., a view that has been exploded by the discovery of the Sārnāth inscriptions of Kumāragupta and Budhagupta.

H. C. R. C.

Annual Report on the Police Administration of the town of Calcutta and its Suburbs, 1925, by Sir Charles Tegart, Kt., C.I.E., M.V.O., Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Rupee 1 and Annas 12 only.

The crime graph in page six shows a steady fall under the heads of *robbery, burglary* and *theft*. This result is due, the Commissioner of Police claims, to more efficient patrols and a re-arrangement of beats and better supervision over criminals released from jails. All credit to him. But the number of true cognisable cases reported increased during the year by about 12 p. c. in comparison with the year previous.

Motor vehicles registered for the first time has increased by 25 p. c. while hackney carriages decreased by about 6½ p. c.

P. C. G.

Report on the Working of the Indian Emigration Act, VII, of 1922, Government of Bengal, 1925, by Lt.-Col. A. Denham White, M. B., F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S., Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, Price annas 8 only.

There was no emigration to countries overseas during the year and total number of immigrants who returned from the Colonies increased to 3,071 against 2,010 in the previous year. 42 immigrants died in transit. A large number of the immigrants, says the report, returning from the Colonies embarked in poor health.

The most amazing part of the Report is with regard to the savings of the immigrants (p. 3). Forty p. c. brought savings ranging from one rupee upwards while sixty per cent. brought no savings and were paupers.

Oh, what a vast drain of wealth to India from British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius, and Natal ! Colonies, beware.

P. C. G.

Prachin-Śilpa-Paricay : by Giriś Chandra Vedanta-tirtha. With an Introduction by Akshaykumar Maitreya, C.I.E. Published (Bengali year 1329) from Rajshahi by Kshitiś Chandra Bhattacharyya. Pages 21+iv+212: price Rs. 2. To be had of Messrs. Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, 201, Cornwallis Street, and Bhattacharyya and Son, 65, College Street, Calcutta.

This is an excellent little work in Bengali on some of the arts and manufactures of ancient India. The author has culled from Sanskrit literature references to numerous objects of material culture, and the information that he has collected forms indeed a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the antiquities of India. A great deal of the information he has presented in his book is new, and exceedingly interesting. Among the subjects treated are the following : clothes and the various kinds of stuffs and garments used in ancient India ; boots and shoes in ancient India ;

umbrellas; turbans and head-dresses; jewels and ornaments; the culinary art in ancient India; painting; making of images; *chowries* and the nine emblems of royalty; jars and goblets; toilet requisites; bedding; fans; mirrors; seats and conveyances; boats; stone-polishing; and the art of preparing and serving food. In most cases the original Sanskrit texts are quoted, and a few text illustrations have also been given to visualise the objects described. In its scope and treatment, the work reminds us of certain sections of the *Indo-Aryans* of Rajendralala Mitra, but we hasten to add that this work is entirely original, and breaks new ground. Apart from the works of the late Dr. Ramdas Sen, there has been nothing in Bengali in this line of research into the antiquities of India. A most convincing picture of the material culture of mediaeval Hindu India is presented in this book. A work like this would not only be useful for the student of Indology but also would be indispensible for artists as well as producers of plays, who fortunately are now becoming more alive to a faithful representation of ancient Indian atmosphere as to costume and surroundings in their pictures and on the stage.

The Introduction by Mr. A. K. Maitreya is a learned and informing paper on the fine arts in ancient India, discussing incidentally the scope of the Sanskrit term *śilpa*. It certainly enhances the value of the book. We can whole-heartedly recommend this work to the specialist, the student and the general reader equally, and we trust it will have the wide appreciation it so richly deserves.

S. K. C.

Men and Thought in Ancient India—by Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D: Professor of History, Lucknow University, Crown octavo., pp. 201.

Dr. Mookerjee's name is well-known to Indian and European scholars, who are sure to welcome this new volume from the pen of such a prolific writer. The book is a collection of lives of five great Indians, *viz.*, Yājñavalkya, Buddha, Aśoka, Samudragupta and Harṣa, and incidentally it gives us pictures of contemporary Indian life. In this respect it will be of some help to students for whom it is primarily intended.

Those of us, however, who expect to find the fruits of a deeper enquiry in it are sure to be disappointed. There is neither a critical analysis of the subject-matter, nor a proper handling of the lives of the great men with a view to mark the evolution of newer ideas or ideals. At the same time, the author fails to give any new suggestion. In some places he shows nothing but his own bias. Thus, he has included Harṣa in the list of the great Indians. This can hardly be justified when we remember that the hero of our author was one who certainly did not rise above mediocrity, but derived his fame owing to his good fortune of having a biographer like Bāna or a foreign traveller like Hiuen Tsang to celebrate the events of his reign.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

Our readers will be interested to read the following correspondence on the disposal of the Senate House :

UNIVERSITY BUILDING

SENATE HOUSE

LETTER TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR BUILDING.

No. 318.

Calcutta, June 25th, 1862.

SIR,

I have the honour, by direction of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, to forward, for submission to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, a series of resolutions adopted by the Senate of the University at a special meeting held on Saturday, June 14th. Annexed is an extract from the Proceedings of the Syndicate ; also a pamphlet containing papers bearing on the subjects considered by the Senate.

2. It will be seen from these papers that, early in the present year, the Board of Examiners in Arts drew the attention of the Syndicate to the imperfect nature of the accommodations provided for candidates at the late University Examinations, and suggested that measures should be taken to provide a Building worthy of the great objects which the University has been founded to carry out.

The suggestion of the Board of Examiners was referred, by the Syndicate, to a Sub-Committee of its own body, to be considered with special reference to the following questions :—

1st. Is a University building required ; and, if so, what should be its situation and extent ?

* * * * *

3. The Senate, it will be observed, are of opinion : that a University Building is required ; that it should be a separate building, so designed and placed as to be susceptible of extension as the requirements of the University extend ; and that it should be situated in the native part of Calcutta, to the north of the line of Dhurrumtollah Street.

The Senate have also determined to request the Government to sanction the necessary expenditure; and regard being had to the daily increasing cost of land and the necessity of providing for future extensions, to secure at once a space of ground not less than 500 feet square.

The Senate consider that the Building, to be erected immediately, should contain at least: (1st) A spacious and indeed a stately Senate House or University Hall for the Public Meetings of the Senate; (2nd) a University Library of suitable dimensions; (3rd) a Reading or Consulting Room; (4th) a suitable Chamber for the ordinary Meetings of the Senate, the Syndicate and the Faculties; (5th) a Retiring or Robing Room for the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Senators; (6th) an Office for the Registrar; (7th) record-room and Office for clerks; (8th and 9th) two large Examination Rooms capable of being fitted up, if necessary, as Lecturing Halls or Theatres.

The Senate also recommend that the ordinary University Examinations shall not be held in the Senate House; and on this ground, have indicated the want of separate Examination Rooms. They point out likewise that the design and plan of the University Building should be so framed as to admit of future symmetrical additions being made.

4. In forwarding these recommendations of the Senate, the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate will only remind His Excellency in Council that the want of a University Building appears to be universally acknowledged. Such is the unanimous opinion of the Faculties, and, it is believed, of all persons connected with education in Calcutta. His Excellency the late Viceroy and Chancellor of the University, in his farewell address to the Senate, dwelt particularly on this want. He said: "Of all the shortcomings, which have necessarily attended upon an administration, carried on through times of civil trouble and of financial difficulties, there has been none which has caused me more regret than that which has resulted from the necessity of withholding, for so many years, all increase of expenditure for education. And although this necessity has passed indiscriminately upon education of every class, it is in regard to the education of the higher ranks of Native Society that I have most deplored it. I am satisfied that in giving to those ranks, not in Calcutta only, but elsewhere in India, the opportunities of a liberal education, which shall be acceptable to them, the British power in India would find a great help to good Government, and one of its best safeguards. But it has not been possible to attempt this; and mainly for the same reason, no progress has been made towards giving to your University a local habitation of its own."

LETTER FROM GOVERNMENT ON THE SUBJECT.

No. 1623.

Dated, Fort William, the 12th March, 1863.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

Your letter No. 790, dated the 16th ultimo, having been laid before the Hon'ble the President in Council, I am directed to intimate that His Honour in Council will be prepared to enter upon the consideration of the proposal for a suitable Building for University purposes whenever a site for such a Building shall have been finally selected, and a plan of the structure prepared on approved principles, together with a careful estimate of its probable cost.

2. In view of the settlement of these indispensable preliminaries, the papers have been forwarded to the Public Works Department, and His Honour in Council invites the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to place themselves in communication with that Department on the subject.

I have, &c.,
E. B. BAYLEY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

LETTER FROM GOVERNMENT ON THE SUBJECT.

No. $\frac{220}{1482}$

Dated, P. W. D. Fort William, 31st March, 1864.

From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Public Works Department.

3. As regards the purchase of land it appeared that there could be no object unless economy were secured by it, in placing the Presidency College and the University building in immediate juxtaposition.

* * * *

13. Fifth, for the University Building the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that no better site can be found than that to the west of College Street, facing the tank in front of the Hindu College. Some of the ground already belongs to the Government, but if more is found to be required, the frontage beyond the present Government boundary may be taken up as far as the corner of the Hindu College square. The building should be arranged in such a manner, having

regard to the centre line of the tank as will admit of a symmetrical extension of it towards the corner of Colootollah Street, should the purchase of the Bazar hereafter become possible, which at present is not the case. The accompanying letter from the Home Department, No. 1623, dated the 12th March, 1863, with its enclosures, will indicate the nature of the provision required for the wants of the University; and the Lieutenant-Governor will now be good enough to cause the needful designs to be prepared.

14. Sixth, after all the arrangements now approved are completed, the spare land at the back of Colootollah Street may be sold to the best advantage. His Excellency in Council remarks that it is no sufficient reason for purchasing more land than will be strictly essential for the real requirements of any of the purposes under discussion, that a set off can be obtained by the sale of any of this land which will not now be wanted. What the Government of India must regard is absolute economy, and under any circumstances the ultimate cost of these buildings will be very large, and will form a very sensible drain on the limited sum available for such expenditure.

15. In conclusion I am directed to advert to the architectural character to be given to the designs for these buildings. The Government of India consider that the University building, being of a somewhat cosmopolitan nature, and at the same time being of moderate dimensions, may, without objection, be dealt with in a less strict manner as regards the outlay on work of a decorative description that should be permitted in preparing the other designs.

I have, etc.,

R. STRACHEY, COLONEL, R. E.,
Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley, Vice-Chancellor, 16th March, 1872.

"The speedy completion of the University building has been so frequently promised by successive Vice-Chancellors in their annual speeches, that I feel considerable hesitation in again alluding to it. So far, however, as I am able to judge, I do think that there is now a fair hope that our next convocation may be held in a hall of our own."

Speech of Lord Northbrook, 12th March, 1873.

"It is to me a great pleasure that it should have fallen to my lot to assist at the first Convocation at which the desire entertained by Lord Canning, under whose care this University sprang into existence, has been realised, and that a local habitation should be found for it in this spacious and indeed stately building, to use the words of the Senate, when they recommended the Government of India to supply a building for the University."

No. 1186.

From Lt.-Col. J. E. T. Nicolls, R. E., Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal in the Public Works Department, to the Offg. Controller of P. W. Accounts in Bengal, Fort William, the 4th April, 1866.

P. W. Dept. Civil Buildings.

SIR,

I am directed to inform you that the undermentioned estimate has been sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council, in orders of the Government of India in the Public Works Department No. 249 C. dated the 7th ultimo, a copy of which is forwarded for your information and guidance, *viz.*, Estimate No. 328 of 1865-66, Public Works Department, Bengal Secretariat, amounting to Rs. two lakhs* and fifty-two thousand two hundred and twenty-one, by the additional Executive Engineer of the Presidency Division, for the construction of the Calcutta University.

* For site—	Rs. 81,660
For buildings, exclusive of out-offices...	Rs. 1,70,561
Total	Rs. 2,52,221

2. The architect to the Government of Bengal will be instructed to take measures to go on at once with the work; and to report, with reference to paragraph 2 of the above orders of the Government of India, the amount that can be expended on it before the 30th instant.

3. A copy of the abstract of the estimate is forwarded herewith for record in your office.

4. The Board of Revenue will be requested to have the bills for the purchases of the land forwarded to you for audit before the close of this month, if possible.

I have, etc.,

J. E. T. NICOLLS, LIEUT., COL., R.E.,
Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,
In the Public Works Department.

In 1873, revised estimates for the New University Building was sanctioned by the Government of India as follows :—

Revised Estimates	...	Rs. 3,13,831
Improvements and alterations, including godowns, stables, etc.	...	Rs. 26,363
		Rs. 3,39,744
Total sanctioned inclusive of the cost of land	...	Rs. 4,34,697

(Minutes, 1873-74, p. 29.)

At the Convocation of the Senate for conferring Degrees held on March 12th, 1873, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor (The Hon'ble Mr. E. C. Bayley) referred to the Senate Hall as follows :—

"It was in the midst of chief struggles of 1857 that the Government of India created the University of Calcutta and gave to it, by the sanction of law, an independent and corporate existence. The work has now been completed by the liberal gift of this building which will hereafter constitute its local home and its visible embodiment."

(Minutes, 1872-73, p. 95.)

* * * *

THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Mr. Jadunath Sircar, M.A., C.I.E., formerly of the Indian Educational Service, was, by a notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated July 31, 1926, appointed Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, in succession to the Hon'ble Justice Sir William Ewart Greaves, Kt., M.A., D.L. Mr. Sircar was a vitriolic critic of this University before his appointment as Vice-Chancellor and his appointment did not, we must frankly confess, receive universal approbation but, we trust, he will work in co-operation with his colleagues on the Senate and the various bodies in the University with deep devotion and loyalty to the institution of which he has been given charge by the Government of Bengal and will achieve still greater fame for this University.

The proceedings of the Senate, dated September 25, 1926, record as follows:

Rai Chunilal Bose Bahadur said: Before we proceed with the ordinary business of the day I beg to extend to you, Sir, a cordial welcome on behalf of the members of the Senate. Sir, I shall not be telling the truth if I say that your appointment has received universal satisfaction. At the time when your appointment was announced there was a sharp division of opinion in that matter. There was a party who readily welcomed you as Vice-Chancellor of the University. There was another party who did not make it a secret . . . .

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy: Party in the Senate or outside?

Rai Chunilal Bose Bahadur: I do not refer to the Senate. I refer to the educated people of Bengal. The other party made no secret of expressing publicly their indignant protest . .

Rai Dinesh Chandra Sen Bahadur: I rise on a point of order.

The Vice-Chancellor: Go on, please.

Rai Chunilal Bose Bahadur continued: Let me hope that unfortunate incident is a matter of past history, and let me also hope that from this day, in the Senate and in the different committees and other meetings of the University there will be the best of feelings and understanding between the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues on the Senate. Personally, I congratulate Government on this appointment and I welcome it for more than one reason. In the first place, I rejoice that the choice has fallen on one of my own countrymen. Secondly, I rejoice that the choice of Government has fallen upon a very distinguished scholar of European fame. And, thirdly, I am glad that this choice has fallen upon one who has devoted his whole life to the noble profession of teaching and who has acquired ample experience not only in the work of teaching but in the work of more than one University. Let me hope, Sir, that we shall never grudge you the help of our loyal co-operation and that we shall also receive from you courtesy, kindness and consideration. Before I take my seat, Sir, I heartily wish you success in your new appointment.

Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri said: Sir, I accord you a very hearty welcome because your family is distinguished for their educational work. Your father is still well known in the Rajshahi District. The Rajshahi College owed its existence greatly to your father's exertions. I have watched your career as student, teacher and scholar, and I admire your single-hearted devotion to historical research. Your merit has been recognised by the highest authority in England, namely, the Royal Asiatic

Society of Great Britain and Ireland, who have elected you as one of their Honorary Members. I also rejoice that the Government of Bengal has at last found an educationist to fill the post of Vice-Chancellor. Educationists have been generally regarded as no good, especially as no good administrators, and I hope that you will vindicate the position of educationists as administrators. I hope under your administration this great University will be greater. It is a very fortunate thing that you come to the *gadi* of the Vice-Chancellor at a time when communal feelings are running very high. You are a born Hindu but you are imbued very greatly with Mahomedan culture and you are one of the best known historical scholars working on Persian materials. I wish you every success and I hope you will not grudge any work for the good of the University.

The Vice-Chancellor : I thank you for the hearty terms of your welcome to me and still more for the promise of co-operation and help you have extended to me. I shall regard it as my duty to serve the University to the best of my powers. For various reasons into which we need not go, the University may have to face troubled times. We might have financial difficulties. There may be a set back to the rush to colleges which has been the characteristic of education in Bengal during the last twelve or fourteen years, and the repercussion must be felt in this University more than anywhere else. In these troubled times it heartens me to learn that I shall not be denied your sympathy, support and cordial aid.

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UNIVERSITY NOMINATIONS.

So writes the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* :

Sir P. C. Ray's term of office as Fellow of the Calcutta University has expired but he has not been nominated by Government. The Registrar of the University, it is reported, had invited Sir P. C. Ray to attend last Saturday's meeting of the Senate, but subsequently informed him by letter advising him not to attend, as Government has not nominated him. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore's term of office has also expired and Dr. Jnanendranath Mookerjee of the Science College has been nominated in his place. Prof. Mookerjee, though a youngman, has already made a reputation for scholarship, but it is felt that Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, perhaps the greatest living authority on Indian Art, should not have been thus unceremoniously pushed aside. Should not the Senate contain a single representative of the School of Indian Fine Arts? Principal G. C. Bose's term of Fellowship will expire in the course of a few days, we understand, on October 3, and it is believed in University circles that he is not going to be nominated again. These events and some of the nominations that have gone before have caused considerable uneasiness. What do these mean? Do they mean that Government is going to rid the Senate of all persons of independent views and fill up the vacancies, as they will occur, with persons who are likely to behave as Government nominees generally behave in legislative bodies? As eighty per cent. of the Fellows of the University are nominated, the weeding out of such "undesirables" as Sir P. C. Ray is believed as indicating a new policy.

Forward writes in this connection:

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others of his way of thinking had always been busy impressing on the Government that colleges and schools in India were the real nurseries of sedition. The educated section of the people, wrote the ex-satrap of the Punjab, were the loudest in their demand for Indianization of services; they had the impudence to question the superiority of the white people. If the problem of "sedition" in India has to be tackled, the Universities should be brought under strict control. The Government of Bengal seem to be the first to have profited by the advice of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The latest exhibition of their concern for the progress of education in Bengal has manifested itself in the exclusion of men like Dr. P. C. Ray, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and Mr. G. C. Bose from the Senate of the Calcutta University.

The Senate of the Calcutta University is largely under the control of the Government, for eighty per cent. of its members are nominated by them. The ordinary sense of decency which the Government had so long shown in allowing men like Dr. P. C. Ray and Mr. G. C. Bose to have some voice in matters educational seems to have been cast off. Dr. Ray's vigorous criticism of the educational policy of the Government at the recent Educational Congress in Britain may not be altogether unconnected with his exclusion from the Senate of the Calcutta University. His love of *Khaddar* might also have been regarded as another crime. It is difficult, however, to solve the mystery that hangs about the exclusion of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and Mr. G. C. Bose except on the hypothesis that they are not the men who would sacrifice the best interests of our youngmen as well as of the country at the bidding of the bureaucracy.

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in literary subjects for 1925 has been equally divided amongst the following four candidates on the subject stated against the name of each :

(1) Mr. Priyaranjan Sen—The Gateways of the Western Influence on Bengali Literature with an Outline of the Western Influence on Bengali Literature.

(2) Mr. Sudhindranath Bhattacharyya—Early Mughal Relations with Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam.

(3) Mr. Kshirodechandra Mookerjee—The Role of Instinct in the Individual and the Race.

(4) Mr. Dhirendranath Majumdar—Ethnic and Social History of the Hos of Kolhan.

Such meticulous division of scholarships amongst admittedly qualified candidates on the recommendation of some of the most eminent scholars in India cannot, of course, be challenged by any right thinking men, but we can certainly invite the attention of the Syndicate to the desirability of changing the rules for the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination.

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UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION DATES.

The Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, 1927, will be held on the dates noted below:

	Commencing Date.
Matriculation	... Tuesday, the 1st March.
Intermediate Arts and Science	... Monday, the 14th March.
B. A. and B. Sc. (Hon.)	... Monday, the 21st March.
	Followed by the Pass Examination.

The dates for the L.T. and B.T. Examinations, 1927, and the Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law, January, 1927, have been fixed as noted below:

	Commencing Date.
L. T. Examination	Wednesday, the 6th April.
B. T. Examination	Wednesday, the 6th April.
Preliminary Examination in Law	Wednesday, the 12th January.
Intermediate Examination in Law	Wednesday, the 19th January.
Final Examination in Law	Monday, the 24th January.

* * * *

UNIVERSITY LAW EXAMINATION RESULTS.

Preliminary:

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,259 of whom 422 passed, 480 failed, 2 were expelled and 355 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 20 were placed in Class I.

Intermediate:

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 758 of whom 332 passed, 265 failed and 161 were absent. Of the successful candidates 10 were placed in Class I.

Final:

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 914 of whom 435 passed, 137 failed, one was expelled and 341 were absent. Of the successful candidates 44 were placed in Class I.

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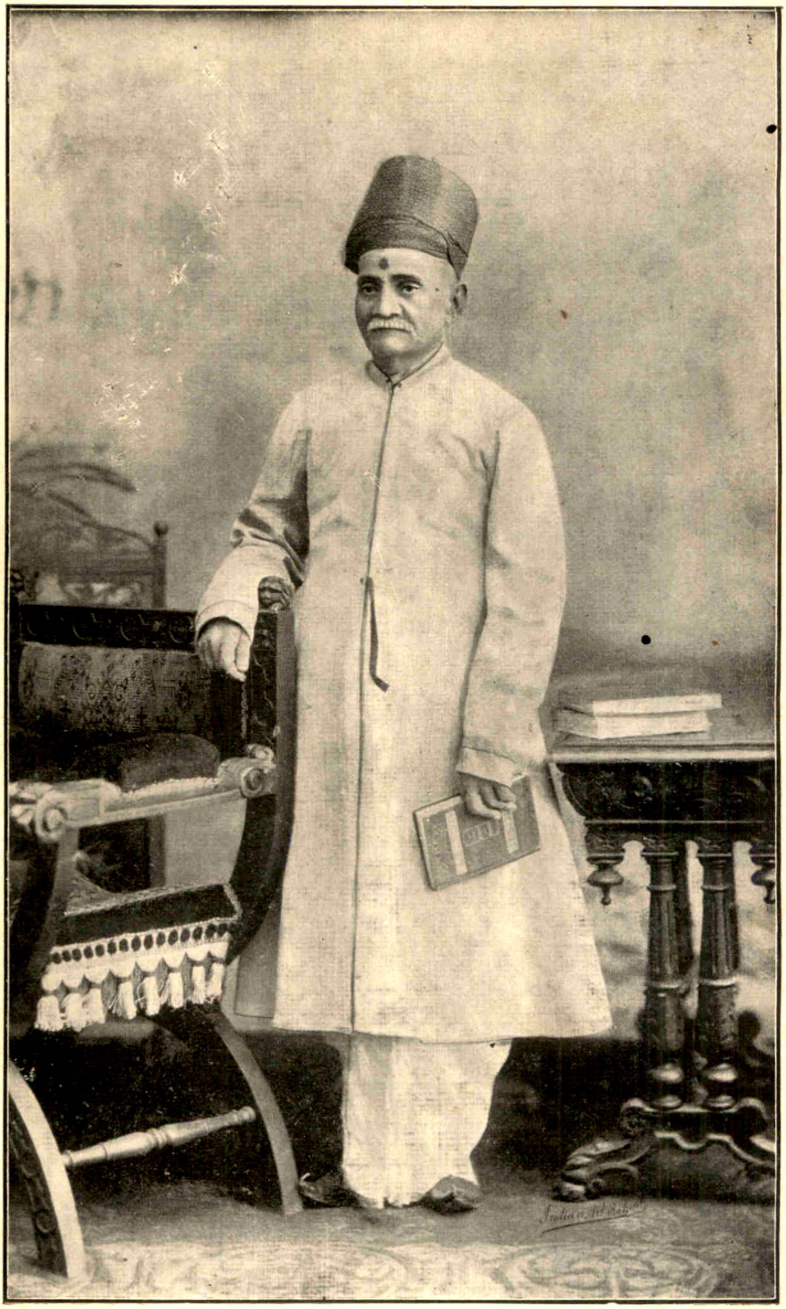
SREEGOPAL BASUMALLIK FELLOW.

Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow for 1926.



PREMCHAND ROYCHAND

POST GRA[illegible]
L[illegible]
CAL[illegible]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1926

ĀTMAN IN THE UPANISHADS

The notion of *Ātman* decidedly takes the upper hand and becomes the *Leitmotif* in the Upanishads. This dynamic religious principle, that we pointed out only with difficulty, may aptly be compared with a rivulet, taking its start in the Ṛgveda, swelling in the Atharvaveda, and again shrinking in the Brāhmaṇas, only to assert itself triumphantly in the Upanishads as a majestic and impetuous river which no dam can any longer obstruct or check.

Anyhow, the birthplace of *Ātman* is the Atharvaveda, and the Upanishads are the arena for its glorious feats. What the Upanishads gave birth to is the notion of *Kārman*, that, even more than *Ātman*, shows signs of a rational and lay origin.

Let us, to begin with, speak about the *Ātman* in the Upanishads. It sometimes rivals and opposes *Brahman*, sometimes eliminates it through silence, and sometimes lets it live on as its own synonym. There are occasional vindications—but only rare and faint—of *Brahman*.

Ātman clearly challenges *Brahman* in *Chāndogya*, VII, 1, where Nārada, a Brāhman, asks of Sanatkumāra, a warrior, to be initiated into the doctrine of *Ātman*, inasmuch as the knowledge of *Brahman* (*brahmavidyā*) is incapable of rescuing man from misery, while every knower of *Ātman* (*ātmavit*) easily overcomes sorrow. In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, II, 1, again a

Brāhman, Gārgya, has his *Brahman* defeated by the *Ātman* of a Kshatriya, Ajātaśatru. No one has up to now pointed out that the antagonism between *Brahman* and *Ātman* is clearly marked by the fact that Gārgya never uses the term *Ātman* but is always speaking of *Brahman*, while, on the contrary, the king never uses the terms *Brahman* but is always speaking of *Ātman*. The *Brahman* of Gārgya, moreover, is either in the sun, or in the moon, or in the thunderbolt, or in other external objects; while the *Ātman* of Ajātaśatru can be discovered only in man, even in man sleeping.

In *Chāndogya* (V, 11, 1), some Brāhmans are eager to know who is really the *Ātman* (*ko nu ātmā*), what is really the *Brahman* (*kim brahma*); and, strange enough, instead of having recourse to a Brāhman, they go to king Aśvapati for instruction, and Aśvapati never even mentions *Brahman*, but goes on speaking of *Ātman* alone.

Brahman is eliminated through silence in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, II, 4, 6, where we read that the whole universe is *Ātman* (*idam sarvam yad ayam ātmā*). Likewise in *Aitareya*, I, 1: In the beginning this world was only *Ātman* and nothing else could open and shut the eyes. In *Bṛhadār*. IV, 4, 12, 13: The man who has discovered the *Ātman* and says: 'I am he,' how can he long for the body any more? The man, awakened to the knowledge that Ātman abides in the medley called body, at once becomes the Universal Factor (*Viśvakṛt*), for he, indeed, is the creator of everything, and the world belongs to him, nay he is the world.

It is not without reason that we meet here the epithet *Viśvakṛt*: we may recall here what has been said concerning the lay and rational deity Viśvakarman in the Ṛgveda, the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas. The *Īśa* gives us the example of an Upanishad which never mentions *Brahman*, and seems to know only one universal principle, namely, *Ātman*.

Undoubtedly, *Brahman* and *Ātman* appear on many occasions as two names of the same transcendent being. In *Bṛhadār*., for instance, we read in I, 4, 1, that in the beginning this world was only *Ātman*; while in I, 4, 10, 11, it is stated that in the beginning this world was only *Brahman*. That *Ātman* and *Brahman* are here identified is proved by the passage that follows: He who says: *I am Brahman*, becomes the whole world, and the gods themselves cannot prevent him from becoming the world, inasmuch as he becomes their *Ātman*. He who worships a deity different from *Ātman* and thinks that he and *Ātman* are two things, has got no understanding at all and is like a beast belonging to the gods. Cattle are precious to man, and likewise each man who is like cattle is precious to the gods. It is unpleasant to be robbed of a single animal that one owns; still more unpleasant to be robbed of many; therefore the gods do not like at all that men should know what *Ātman* is (*Bṛhadār*., I, 4, 10).

The author of our Upanishad is here using promiscuously the names *Ātman* and *Brahman*, though, on the whole *Ātman* gains the upper hand, for in I, 4, 15, we read: 'he who worships only the *Ātman* as the world, nothing of what he does is ever lost; and anything he wishes he gets from *Ātman*; and finally in I, 4, 17, the author, as if repenting of having stated in I, 4, 10, that in the beginning this whole world was *Brahman*, says: 'In the beginning this whole world was *Ātman*.' Anyhow, it is clear that the passage is far from being an orthodox one, for in it, men believing in gods are called cattle, and the gods are represented as opposed to the doctrine of *Ātman*, because this latter makes them lose their cattle.

We should, however, be mistaken if we thought that *Ātman* waged war on *Brahman*, past any possibility of reconciliation. On Indian soil wars to the death are unknown, because its amiable eclecticism is not long in reconciling all kinds of opponents. We see, therefore, the *Śvetāśvatara* busy not only with identifying *Brahman* and *Ātman*, but also bringing into line with them the *Puruṣa*. This Upanishad, in fact, states in III, 7, that those who know the *Brahman* become immortal; in III, 21, that those who know the *Ātman* are for ever emancipated from rebirth; and in III, 8, that those who know the *Puruṣa* overcome death. We western people are shocked by such contradictory statements; for in the name of logic and consistency, do we not fight and are we not ready to die? Indians, however, think that, after all, *Brahman*, *Ātman* and *Puruṣa* are three names, and that it is absurd to come to blows for the sake of the supremacy of any one of them when by considering them as synonymous every conflict may be avoided. Whether we or the Indians are wiser is an open question.

Though by far the greater number of the classical Upanishads show a tendency to give *Ātman* the upper hand, we, nevertheless, sometimes hear voices vindicating the rites of *Brahman*. The *Kena*, for instance, is decidedly in favour of *Brahman* and against *Ātman*. We saw that the two princes Ajātaśatru and Aśvapati never mention *Brahman*; while on the contrary, they speak about *Ātman* as if it were the only basis of the world. From this fact we inferred an implied opposition to *Brahman*, and likewise, it is only fair to assume an opposition to *Ātman* from the fact that, in the *Kena*, the name *Brahman* preponderates. Only once, namely, in II, 4, *Ātman* is mentioned in order to state that through it man finds vigour (*Ātmanā vindate vīryam*), but never immortality, which can be conferred by the science of *Brahman* alone (*vidyayā vindate 'mṛtam*). The orthodox Brahmanical character of the *Kena* is also brought out by the words we read in the conclusion (32-34), namely, that the Upanishadic lore is the doctrine of *Brahman* and its basis consists of asceticism (*tapas*), of self-control (*dama*), and of sacrificial practices (*karma*).

Between *Brahman* and *Ātman* there is a substantial difference according to the Upanishads, and we have to consider now what this much-spoken-of *Ātman* is from the Upanishadic point of view. 'The whole world,' says the

Bṛhadāraṇyaka, 'is nothing else but food and food-eaters' (I, 4, 6), and the *Taittirīya* (II, 2) adds: 'Living beings consist of food, they derive their life from food and they become food at the end. If life is dependent on food, there needs must be a substantial congeniality between the eater and the food he eats. No life is possible without food; food, therefore, may almost be identified with life. No wonder, then, if food (*anna*) is considered as something sacred, nay, as symbol of *Brahman*.'

Goethe says:

> Ich habe niemals danach gefragt
> Von welchen Schnepfen und Fasanen,
> Kapaunen und Welschenhahnen
> Ich mein Bauchelchen gemastet.

'I never cared to know with what woodcocks and pheasants, what capons and turkeys, I fattened my little stomach.'

We western people are all, like Goethe, supremely unconcerned in our philosophy with the food we swallow and which has to keep us alive. Provided it has got a good taste and does not hurt us, we do not think any more of it. Bread, meat, vegetables, fruits, are matter, and as such they do not deserve the least of our thoughts. Between spirit and matter there is a chasm, and we do not succeed in detecting any intimate and congenial relation between our thoughts and the bread we have digested.

On the contrary, an Upanishadic seer makes the following remark that may seem a truism at the outset, but nevertheless contains a deep practical meaning: 'If for only ten days we abstain from taking any food, we still live, but we are no more able to see, hear, think, understand, act, discriminate. All these faculties come back again as soon as we give fresh nourishment to our body.' (*Chānd.*, VII, 9.)

'It is, then, clear that the psychological functions are dependent on food, and what we call matter is not the dead thing we are accustomed to imagine, inasmuch as it hides in itself mysterious energetic principles giving birth to the most exquisite manifestations of the soul. Is it ever possible to detect the boundary between matter and spirit? Matter, moreover, can pass through different stages and is quite susceptible of being refined: one can churn milk into butter. A similar process is likely to take place with respect to the food that is assimilated by our body. A part of it proves rebellious to every elaboration and refinement and is, therefore, expelled in the form of excrement; another part, which may conveniently be styled the middle one, is converted into flesh; while the choicest part becomes thought. The water, likewise, that we drink, functions in three parts and becomes respectively urine to be eliminated, blood, and breath. The warmth that we gather from outside becomes bone in its gross part, marrow in its middle, and language in its finest part. All this can be proved by an experiment. Let us compare man with a fire kept alive by sixteen firebrands. Each firebrand represents the food he wants every day. If during sixteen days he completely abstains from taking food and water, death ensues. If fasting, however, lasts, instead of sixteen, fifteen days and man drinks, he will live on, namely, he will go on merely breathing without any possibility of remembering things. Śvetaketu, Uddālaka's son, underwent this experiment. For a period of fifteen days he ate absolutely nothing and only drank water. At the end of the fifteenth day his father bade him recite some well-known Vedic stanzas, but he had forgotten them altogether. He, then, discontinued his fast and after the fifteenth day of renewed feeding, he could remember and recite those Vedic stanzas. Breathing, then, had not stopped owing to the water he had drunk, but memory and thinking power had utterly disappeared on account of the absence of food' (*Chānd.*, VI, 7).

Professor Jacobi thinks that all this is sheer materialism (*Entwicklung der Gottesidee,* page 12). But have we not here an attempt at bringing spirit into matter, much more than any tendency to identify matter and spirit? For myself I fail to detect any trace of materialism in this Upanishadic theory: nay, I see matter losing its dead character and becoming the living abode of God. Food, water and heat are the manifestation of God, of that pantheistic deity who, to repeat the same words of the Śvetāśvatara, II, 17, abides in the fire and in the waters in the whole universe, in the herbs and in the trees (*yo devo' gnāu yo' psu yo viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa, ya oṣadhiṣu yo vanaspatiṣu tasmāi devāya namo namaḥ*).

India had also her materialists, but they speak in quite a different language. Mādhavācārya tells us that the Cārvākas believe only in the existence of matter, and object to admit any such thing as the soul. They maintain that there are only four elements: earth, water, fire and air, out of the combination of which the soul springs up, just as from the combination of fermenting substances an intoxicating power is produced.

It is clear that this intoxicating power of the materialists is something merely casual, that comes into birth and vanishes again without any character of lasting reality. How utterly different from this intoxicating power is that thought (*manas*) which originates from the essence of food (*anna*), the God that abides in the fire and in the waters, in the whole Universe, in the herbs and in the trees. The thought produced by the essence of food, the breath produced by the essence of water, the words produced by the essence of heat have got in themselves nothing that is casual; they are, on the contrary, an everlasting reality emancipated from birth as well as from death, hidden in everything that has a name and a form just as a razor is hidden in its case, fire is hidden in wood, and salt hidden in the water wherein it has been melted. This everlasting reality manifests itself in manifold forms, from the lowest progressively to the highest. It manifests itself under the form of food, of breath, of thought, of discrimination, of bliss (*ānanda*). We are essentially what our thought makes of us; we become in this life and after death what we long for. Accordingly, if our supreme wish is food, we shall have food; if it is breath we shall live as long as we desire; if it is bliss, we shall have bliss. His destiny is in man's own hands; let him think of, let him aspire to, low or high things, and he will not be long in identifying himself with them. The choice that is given him ranges between food (*anna*) and bliss (*ānanda*) (*Taittirīya*, II, 2).

Is it possible to detect any trace of materialism in this doctrine?

The everlasting reality that manifests itself from its highest form of bliss (*Ānanda*) down to its lowest form of food (*anna*), is what the Upanishads call *ātman*. It is essentially a unity, though man sees it always split up into parts in the empirical world. Inasmuch as it breathes, we call it Breath; inasmuch as it speaks, we call it Word; inasmuch as it understands, we call it Mind, and so on. But all these are only functions of the *Ātman*, which is a unity and the basic principle of all functions.

Menenius Agrippa's apologue of the organs of the body vying with each other for supremacy, is a poor counterfeit of the famous deep Upanishadic fable intended to show the supremacy of *Ātman* as the prop of all physiological and psychological functions in our body. A fable that aims at evidencing God's presence in the world, has in Europe been converted into a political means of keeping the different social classes in harmony. While India was thinking of God, there in Rome they were thinking of Man. The religious spirit of India and the practical sense of the West are once brought clearly into contrast by the different use of the one and same apologue.

The Upanishadic fable met with in *Bṛhadār.* VI, 1, 7-14, in *Chānd.*, V, 1, 6-15, 2, 1, in *Praśna,* II, 1-4, and in *Kauṣītaki*, II, 14, shows that it is not the eye that sees, the ear that hears, the tongue that speaks, and so on, but an underlying something that causes the eye to see, the ear to hear, the tongue to speak, and so on. This something is the one real prop of all physiological and psychological functions, and if it departs from the body, there is an end to life. Without eyes man can live, without ears man can live, without tongue man can live ;—and, in fact, there are blind, deaf and dumb men ; but without the *Ātman* nobody can live, for the *Ātman* is the real basis of all functions.

Another proof of the existence of *ātman* is to be found in the fact that it never experiences weariness : the tongue gets tired by dint of tasting, the mind gets tired by dint of thinking, but the *Ātman*, even in its manifestation of breathing, which is far from being its highest manifestation, never knows what weariness is. Everything in us takes rest while we sleep, except breath, the *Ātman*, the eternal watcher. Everything that needs sleep, shall one day die ; but who has ever seen breathing sleep ? The *Ātman* never sleeps, and, therefore it cannot die. Is it ever possible to conceive the death of the *Ātman*, of the soul ? Cut a tree at its root : drops of lymph will flow out, because it lives. Cut it in the middle of its trunk, or at its top : drops of lymph will flow out because it lives. Being saturated with *Ātman* the tree proudly spreads its boughs. But in life, the *Ātman*, abandons a branch, this branch withers and dies ; if it abandons a second and a third branch, they also die ; if it abandons the whole tree, the whole tree withers and dies. Likewise, this our body dies when life deserts it, but it is not life that dies. A life that dies is an inconsistency, a flat contradiction, a logical impossibility.

All our different vital energies melt into a unity which allows us to be conscious of the things of the external world.

Prāṇa or *Ātman* is the conscious principle, and through it we can see, hear, smell, taste and so on. If only consciousness is absent, the eye mechanically looks at an object but practically does not see it. We, therefore say: 'my mind was absent and I did not perceive that object.' The same thing happens with respect to the nose, the tongue, the ear, and any other organ. Behind the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, there is, consequently, something that is the real subject of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and this something is nothing but the immortal *Ātman.*

Accordingly, the world is an emanation of *Ātman.* As the spider emits and draws in its cobweb, as herbs spring up from the soil and return to it, as sparks by thousands come forth from a fire and fall into that same fire, just so the manifold beings come out of the immortal *Ātman* and go back into it (*Muṇḍaka,* I, 1, 7; II, 1, 1; *Kauṣītaki,* III, 2, *Bṛhadār.,* II, 1, 20).

When we are fast asleep, the *Ātman* draws back into itself all that it sent forth while we were awake. The capital proof of the existence of *Ātman,* and of its spreading and shrinking, lies in its passing from the watching to the dreaming state, and from this latter into the condition of sound sleep.

King Ajātaśatru leads Gārgya near a sleeping man, and says:

> When one sleeps as this man does, the conscious soul takes from the organs the power of perception that it had lent to them, and chooses the heart as its abode. It roams, during the dream, here and there through its domains, like an almighty emperor, or a great Brāhman, drawing behind itself the manifold vital spirits as if they were its retinue. But when sound sleep ensues, then the soul, entering the seventy-two thousand veins that spread from the heart to the pericardium, goes to rest therein and enjoys such bliss as can be experienced by a young prince, or an emperor, or a great Brāhman (*Bṛhadār.,* II, 1, 15-19).

King Janaka asks Yājñavalkya (*Bṛh.*, IV, 3): 'What gives man light?' 'The sun,' the sage answers, 'for in the light of the sun, man despatches all his business.' 'But, when the sun has set, what gives man light?' 'The moon, for in the light of the moon man despatches all his business.' 'But, when neither sun nor moon are there, what is it that gives man light?' 'Fire, for in the light of fire man despatches all his business.' 'But, when both sun and moon are absent, and the fire has been put out, what is it that gives man light?' 'The voice, for though one is in the darkness, hearing a voice, one can go to the spot whence it come forth.' 'But, when both sun and moon are absent, fire has been put out, and no voice is to be heard, what is it that gives man light?' 'His *self*, for when one dreams one gives one-self light.' There are, then, no coaches, no two-wheelers, no roads, but coaches, two-wheelers, roads are all created by the self; there are, then no pleasures, no joys, no delights, but all pleasures, joys and delights are created by the self; there are, then, no wells, no ponds, no rills, but wells, ponds, rills are created by the self; because the self is the Creator. Emancipated from the body He looks at the sleeping organs, until He himself goes to rest. As an eagle, after long flying, comes back to its nest and folds its wings, just so the self, the soul, the *Ātman*, goes back to His own abode, namely, He withdraws into Himself. Dream at once ceases; sound sleep follows, a state of bliss, that cannot be better compared than with the rapture man experiences when he is embraced by a beloved woman. One is no more conscious of what is going on in the exterior as well as in the interior world; one is outside good as well as evil; one reaches a perfect ecstasy. Nothing is any more seen, heard, tasted, thought, though the power of seeing, hearing, tasting, thinking is still there. The soul has become one with all exterior objects; consciousness has disappeared, but its disappearance does not imply, in the least, death of the power of perception: nay, it implies an ineffable bliss. All powers of perception are dormant, only potentially living, while the soul, withdrawn into itself, has reached its supreme refuge, its supreme bliss.

We can, therefore, follow life in its gradual manifestations of food (*annarasamaya*), of breath (*prāṇamaya*), of thought (*manomaya*), of discrimination (*vijñānamaya*), of bliss (*ānandamaya*). We become the thing which we intensely wish; and he who aspires to the bliss he has experienced in sound sleep, will reach this bliss after his death (*Taittirīya*, II, 2).

Loss of consciousness is not an evil; it is bliss; for as long as consciousness is there, there is on one side a knower and on the other a perceivable object; that is to say, the soul is troubled by something exterior; there is a duality, and real bliss becomes impossible,—the bliss that is experienced the moment we attain unity, the moment the knower becomes one with all perceivable things. To state that after death there is no more consciousness, does not at all mean that there is no soul, but, rather that we pass into a condition where the soul becomes one with all objects, and emancipates itself from every material bond which constrains it to perceive things different from its immortal self; to perceive, namely, this transitory world of illusory joys and illusory sorrows.

To conceive a form of life that is outside our usual consciousness importing the notions of *mine* and *thine*, *to-day* and *to-morrow*, *joy* and *affliction*, is hardly possible to the generality of men, though they are ready to grant that sound sleep and, still more, the raptures of love, which annihilate consciousness altogether, are states of perfect and ineffable bliss. A true sage sees, on the contrary, the highest form of life in the loss of consciousness, for he well knows that true reality cannot and does not keep anything in common with the ephemeral world that never *is*, but eternally *becomes*, shattering pitilessly our fondest illusions. When Yājñavalkya says to his wife: 'After death there is no consciousness' (*na pretya saṁjñāsti*, *Bṛh.* II, 4, 12; IV, 5, 13), he is quite aware of uttering a sentence that is likely to terrify the generality of people accustomed to long for a continuation of this life after death. Maitreyī, in fact, is frightened, and says: 'By this sentence, namely, that after death there is no more consciousness, you have perplexed me.' Maitreyī here represents the generality of people dreaming of a heaven that is nothing but earth.

Professor Jacobi (*op. cit.*, pages 8-10, 14, 15) maintains that, in the oldest Upanishads, spirit and matter are not yet distinctly discriminated and that the notion of an individual soul exempt from decay and death is altogether unknown. But why is, then, Maitreyī shocked to hear from her husband: 'After death there is no more consciousness?' Is it not because she believes that after death her individual soul will survive? And does not her belief represent that of the generality of her contemporaries? Far from being unable sharply to discriminate spirit from matter, Yājñavalkya has got over the notion of the individual soul surviving the death of the body, and yet perpetuating consciousness, and has conceived, instead, a stage of the life of the soul much loftier than consciousness itself, and wholly emancipated from the duality as knowing subject. Rather than with unevolved thoughts, we are here confronted with a wonderful maturity of speculation.

Ātman is, therefore, according to the Upanishads, the vital force permeating the Universe and manifesting itself in more or less lofty forms. As such, *Ātman* is a scientific truth that observation and experiment succeed in detecting and evidencing. Let us not forget that Śvetaketu fasted fifteen days in order to prove that thought is dependent on food, and breathing on water. The different manifestations of life in the waking state, in dream, and in sound sleep;

the gradual withdrawal of *Ātman* in the successive loss by the dying man of the power of speaking, of consciousness, of breath, and at least of warmth; these and other items that are met with in the Upanishads are nothing but physiological and psychological observations. The axiom that the knowing subject cannot absolutely become the known object at the same time—namely, that it cannot know itself—shows that the Upanishadic seers were far-advanced in Logic. Now, all this has absolutely nothing to do with religion; it is mere science, or, at least, a mere attempt at science. No scientific truth has ever had or will ever have the power of bestowing on men the spiritual comforts that religion only is apt to confer. Rabindranath Tagore crushingly told me one day: 'Do you ever conceive that a man, needing comfort, will seek for it and find it in the law of gravitation?' The helplessness of science as a substitute for religion cannot be more effectively expressed. A personal God that listens to our prayers and gives us support through His mysterious presence, will ever be preferred to any impersonal law that can appeal to our reason, but never to our heart. Without personality, there is an end to loving and being loved.

If, accordingly, *Ātman* is a scientific truth, can it give birth to a religion? The answer ought seemingly to be in the negative. A perusal of the texts, however, leads us to a different conclusion.

'When,' says the *Chāndogya* (VII, 23), 'we see, hear and know nothing else besides ourselves, then do we experience boundlessness; whenever we see, hear and know anything different from ourselves, we experience limitation. Boundlessness is immortal, limitation is mortal. Likewise, boundlessness is bliss, for there is no joy in littleness. But, lo, *Ātman* is above and underneath, on the left and on the right; *Ātmân* is the universe. Who sees, thinks of, and knows the *Ātman* thus, and enjoys it, plays with it, makes love to it, and feels blessed in it, he is the free man, he roams through the worlds according to his wish ; all those, on the contrary, who think otherwise, are the slaves of others, their delights are transitory, the worlds are shut to their wandering unrestrainedly through them.' And we read in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* III, 8, 10, 81 : 'He who leaves this world without knowing the imperishable *Ātman* is but a wretch, for *Ātman* is the seer unseen, the hearer unheard, the thinker not thought of ; besides him their exists no other seer, hearer, thinker; for the imperishable *Ātman* is the woof and warp of the universe.'

To every attempt at defining what *Ātman* is, one must reply by some negative (*neti neti* : *Bṛh.* III, 9, 26), because He is ineffable ; He cannot be grasped with the hand ; He is not susceptible of decay ; nothing can stick to Him, nor make Him stagger, nor hurt him.

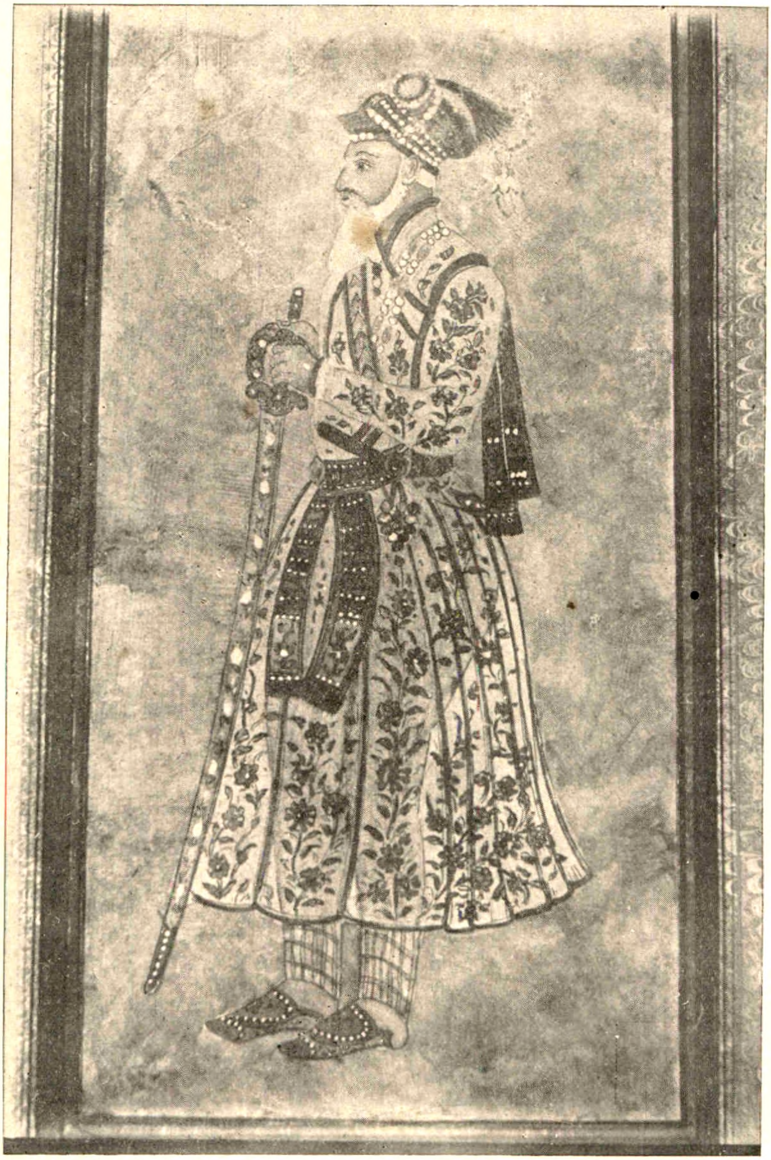
It would be easy to pile up a large number of similar quotations showing that the seers of the Upanishads speak of *Ātman* in a language which, far from being that of the scientist or the philosopher, is that of the prophet inflamed by a mystical enthusiasm. Science here becomes religion. In the West we are accustomed to see science and religion, matter and spirit, irreconcilably divorced, so that we are puzzled by the promiscuousness with which both science and religion are treated of in the Upanishads, and we ask ourselves again : Do the Upanishads really embody a religion, or are they mere philosophic speculations ?

CARLO FORMICHI

TO A FORGOTTEN GARDEN

I chanced to look beyond a creeper-tangled wall,
Where dreamed an old forgotten garden in the sun.
Along the weed-grown, stone-flagged paths the light and shade
Trailed fairy patterns as the day grew long. I saw
A wistful beauty dwelling there, in warm brown earth
And lush green grass ; in sweet wild blossoms where the
Yellow butterflies played silently, and a lonely
Bird sang softly in the em'rald foliage. I felt
The gentle melancholy brooding there, and yet
It was not wholly sad, for the old garden seemed
So peaceful and at rest, as if immersed in dreams
Of other days when happy children romped among
The scented blooms, or leaned above the little pool
Where water-lilies slept. So much of peace there was
In that still spot, that I, who looked upon it from
A noisy world, envied its calm and gracious spirit
And the quiet mellowness aloof from strident life.
Somewhat of Heaven lingered there, held captive in
The midst of discord and unrest ; and so I gazed
And went my way, but carried in my heart the
Memory of that lovely place that soothed me like a
Benediction that healed and blessed when night had come.

L. S. ANDERSON



AURANGZIB THE GREAT MUGHAL

(Reproduced by courtesy of W. C. Trikha)

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS

(*Departure from the Mogul's Camp*: *Detention on the way.*)

VI

On the 1st day of February the Nabob sent Serivans to say that the letter and presents for King William would arrive in charge of a Goosberdar that afternoon. Sir William was also advised as to the manner of their reception. He was further asked to visit the Nabob but refused in spite of the Scrivans' urgent representations that "everyone made court to him, even the Shah of Persia." They asked that half of the money promised should be paid now, but he refused to pay anything until the *phirmaunds* should be received. It appeared that by the Imperial command the letter and presents were to be given by the Nabob to Sir William in person, but the latter declined to come and even declared he would leave without them. The Nabob then repeated his commands from the Emperor which gave Sir William pause. He consulted his brother and Mr. Harlewyn and after considerable discussion it was decided that he should comply by visiting the Nabob that same afternoon attended by seven gentlemen and four pages. Mr. Mill acquainted the Nabob with this arrangement who, however, feeling that the visit would be contrary to the Ambassador's wishes proposed an alternative. This was on condition that the 2,000 gold *mohurs* promised should be increased to 6,000. The coolness of the proposal made Sir William very indignant and he replied that he was not there "to buy presents" for the King, his master, that he would not pay a sum larger than he had already promised, and that he would withhold even that if the presents were not received the next day by sunset. His ultimatums, however, were shortlived and after some parley between Mr. Mill and the Scrivans it was arranged that an additional 300 gold *mohurs* should be paid and a visit to the Nabob arranged for the next day. This incident illustrates the essential weakness of Sir William's character, and clearly indicates one cause determining the failure of his mission.

He had now, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the wearisome detention and fruitless negotiations were drawing to a close. On the morning of February 4th he visited the Nabob without an armed escort and accompanied "only wth the Gentlemen, 2 pages, 4 footmen and 2 Trumpeters and 2 leade Horses richly caprisond wth gold embroyderys," leaving his brother, Edward Norris, behind with the guards and remainder of the retinue "to act as might be thought most adviceable in case I should be seizd." He describes the visit in great detail. It is here quoted in full :

> "About 9 a clocke I sett out in ye manner and when I came within ye Nabobs Carnatts was first conducted by the 2 Scrivans (who attended me all ye shile) to a very handsome Tent in order to Receive ye Emprrs letter and present for the K. of England whch place was upon a fine Inlayd Chaire wth a Rich coveringe over it. As soone as I approacht neare ye coveringe was taken of and then I made 4 Bows, after yt I came close to ye chaire where they lay (behind wch stood ye Goosberdar yt brought ym & about 100 other people). The Goosberdar first takeing ye Emprrs letter wch he gave me & I made 4 bows & put ye letter upon my Hatt (one of ye Scrivans holdinge it over my heade as he did all ye while I stayd att ye Nabobs) Then ye Goosberdar presented me with ye Hunjahr [1]) for ye K. of England wch was enclosd in a small box wrapd about first wth a very Rich Attlas & on ye out side English cloath seald att ye Top wth Ruolo Chawns seale (out of whose office it came) I made ye same obeysances att ye Receipt of yt as ye letter &

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(1) The dagger was valued at Rs. 5,000 according to *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-Muala.* This and other presents together with the letter to King William were afterwards delivered to Queen Anne, by Edward Norris. *See* Vol. V, p. 285, of *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, by Narcissus Luttrell.

deliverd it to one of my pages to carry (ye letter beinge carryd over my hatt as mentioned before) ffrom thence I was conducted into a very pretty apartment neatly spreade wth white and a fountain Running and waters playinge down ye side & a small Canall about a yard broade in ye midle where I was recevd by Haml Chawn [Hamed Khan] ye Nabobs Brothr I sittinge on one side of ye Canall and He on ye other, after some complements passed in ye Nabobs name and his own he told me ye Nabob was ready to Receive me, soe I orderd Inn my hand present of Gold and he gave me Betle himselfe & sent betle to all ye rest wth me soe much as ye pages footmen and Trumpeters: ffrom thence I was conducted thro' vast crowds of people (who were orderd over on purpose) to ye Nabobs Duonconna: His Elephants and Horses both richly adornd beinge drawn up on each side as I passd when I came within ye Carnatts where ye Nabob satt in the Duonconna. There was a large area crowded as full of Topshans (Gunmen) as ye place could hold brought on purpose to shew me his strength & wht forces he had ready: A more confusd mob cannot be conceivd then they were no Rank or order. A Lane beinge made after I had passd thro' them they were orderd to withdraw: & then I was conducted to ye entrance of ye Duonconna where as soone as I came ye Armlege Informd ye Nabob of my beinge there (naminge my name) att wch time I bowd to ye Nabob after my fashion and He salamd to me after His, and then was conducted to ye upper end and placed in an equall line to ye Nabob on his left hand about 3 yardes distance nobody sittinge acquall but my selfe his brother sittinge att greater distance on ye other side all round ye Tent wch was very large sett 3 Rows of officers very Richly clad in very Regular order close to ye sides of ye Tent and could not be much less then 800 persons Behinde me att some distance att each hand of ye Nabob were six people yt carryd swords in rich covers of velvett embroyderd: and att ye entrance of ye Tent was ye same number of each side wth large silver utensills (wch I understood afterwards belonged to ye kitchin) soe He tooke ye opertunity of shewing all his greatness! The Scrivans havinge askd how many of my Retinue I would permitt to sitt down by me I namd Mr. Harlowin, Mr. Mills and Mr. Hale, who satt accordingly every one of ye Rest beinge askd to come into ye Tent & placd conveniently. As soone as I was satt down ye Nabob gave his Respects & bad me welcome yt He was very glad of ye oportunity of givinge me an Honourable dismission as ye Emprr had directed & he doubted not but would be to my Intire satisfaction. That he had usd his utmost Indeavors to procure ye phirmands for ye Company, and tho' they were not yett perfected yett He had ye Emprrs promise yt they should be in a little time, and he would not faile to use his Indeavors to expedite ym I Returnd ye Nabob many thanks for his favours wch I had experiencd. I was sensible his Interest was soe greate wth ye Emprr that either they would be procurd by Him or could be by nobody else, & should be very glad to receive ym from Him. And yt nothinge scince I came to India was greater satisfaction then this opertunity of seeinge Him who was ye cheife Bahadour of ye Empire: These complements havinge passd The Nabob to shew his own state and me some entertainmt had orderd all his elephants very large Indeed & fine all clad in fine attlasses and greate plates of silver att their Heade & Tayle ye Nabob own Elephant beinge att least 16 foot high & 2 white Horse Tayles att each side his eares. All ye elephants successively came & salam'd wth their Trunks and bended their feet to pay their complements & afterwards all his Horses richly caparisond & finely painted brought to shew: After yt ye Nabob askd me whether ever wee had any Elephants in England, and if any then from whence they came, to wch I Replyd yt very Rarely some had been brought to England from ye nearest parts of Africk. Then ye Nabob acquainted me yt ye Emprr had sent me a surpaw wch was ready for me to put on soe withdrew into a small Tent sett up for ye purpose and put it on ye Turlatt over my Hatt & ye shall [*shawl*] over my shoulders and soe went to ye front of ye Duonconna payinge ye same Respects upon ye Receipt of ye Emprrs surpaw as done for ye Kings present att wch time I was presentd likewise wth an Elephant ye ceremony of wch was ye Elephant brought in to ye area & a silver Hooke by wch they give beinge held over my shoulder & this beinge given me att ye same time wth ye Emprrs surpaw puts it beyond all dispute yt it was presentd by ye Emprr though yt Nabob had been continuing all alonge to gett a sum of money for it as cominge from Himselfe: After this I went up to ye Nabob to take my leave He givinge me Gilded betle wth his own hands & orderinge it to be given to all ye Rest of my Retinue att wch time he assurd me from his own mouth That he had ye Emprrs word for ye 3 phirmaunds for ye Company granted in every particulare as I requested & yt they should be sent after me upon wch I returnd a suitable complement & soe He wishinge me all hapynesse I tooke my leave: I omitted to incert yt when my hand present of 201 Gold mohurs was offerd by my Treasurer The Nabob saide aloude yt ye Emprrs Duen [Dewan] and all present might heare: you may take one: Soe one only taken in publick

& ye scrivan tooke ye rest in private afterwards: which confirmes yt wht Hamed Chawn saide ye other day was true yt ye Emprr orderd ye Nabob to take no money of me nor permitt anybody else; soe his takinge one Gold mohur only in publick of wch he will take care ye Emprr shall be advisd of will cover all ye Rest he has squeezd out of us in private: But I am soe farr obligd to Him yt there was never soe honourable a dismission given in publick in any person whatsoever before in ye Emprrs Dominions: wch is a National Respect.

After I had taken my leave I marchd home in ye same manner I came wth ye surpaw on my back ye Letter & present for ye Kinge of England in my palankeen, & ye union flag carryd upon ye Elephant: when I arrivd att my champ I was mett by my Brother & wee salutd att meetinge as wee had done att partinge, & ye Guardes beinge all drawn up & ye Guns in Readynesse I dranke ye Emprrs health out of ye Gold bowle ordringe 9 Guns to fire Trumpetts to sound and Drum beate in Token of Thanks to ye Emprr wch Respect will quickly be carryd to ye Emprrs Eares & be well receivd: This afternoone I recvd 2 present of fruite and sherbett from ye Nabob who orderd those yt brought ym not to take any money wch order beinge publick was done on purpose to reach ye Emprrs eares:

In ye eveninge just before ye sunsett ye Guardes were drawn out made 3 vollys and I permitted ye musick to play in ye officers Tents to give all outward appearance of satisfaction."[1]

The above extract is a further index to the Ambassador's character and temperament. It is almost amazing to find that after three tedious years he could still find so evident delight in elephants and trumpets and enjoy as he so plainly did the placing of the Mogul's letter upon his hat. It reminds one of the pathetic pleasure of a slum child in presence of the tinsel glories of a pantomime.

Aurangzib's letter given with the presents to Sir William Norris for delivery to William III is written in Arabic with the Imperial seal on a long roll and is dated January 7th, 1702. It opens with an invocation to God and Mohammed, then follows a declaration of faith showing the superiority of

[1] See pp. 226-30 of C. O. $\frac{77}{55}$.

the Moslem faith and the strong appeal it makes to mankind. After that comes Aurangzeb's confession of faith and an account of his valour in destroying the unbelievers in his Empire. The letter ends with an account of the Ambassador's reception and indicates the expectations roused by King William's letter.

On the day following his reception Sir William received from the Nabob a request for two of his guns as a present. To this he replied that they would be sent from Surat after he had arrived there, because they might be required on the journey in case of possible attacks by the "Rajahs." The Scrivans made continual fresh demands for money and in order to satisfy them he made a payment of 600 rupees. The immediate effect was that they returned with the *dusticks* necessary for Sir William's journey to Surat and were reminded by him that the money already promised would be paid if the *phirmaunds* should be received at Surat within 50 days.

Soon after Mr. Mill was informed by the Nabob that by the Emperor's command Rustomji was to be detained at the Camp. Sir William was unable to determine the meaning of this move. It might be a stratagem to have Rustomji as a hostage for payment of the sums promised or might portend a further design against the Embassy. Whatever the meaning might be Rustomji was strictly forbidden to sign any obligation in the Ambassador's name. The latter then notified the Nabob that he would depart next day and as a mark of respect would drink his health. Accordingly they started on the 6th and reached Ancola the same day. The journal records;

"This night just before I went to bed ye Nabob sent a present wch ye messengers yt broughte it saide was for ye K. of England it consisted of 3 vests 3 Turlatts & 3 shashes wch ye Nabob desird might be presentd to ye K. of England wth his Respects and yt I would favour him soe far to putt of my hatt att ye Receipt of ye wch beinge ye custome of ye country & wht I had done before att ye vizire I complyd wth and accepted of ye present because I would not give ye least umbrage of disgust to ye men wth whom I had att last entrusted ye procurement of ye 3 phirmaunds for ye Company, otherwise would have excusd acceptinge ye presents att all; wch was very poore mean & ordinary and shall never trouble ye King wth ym...I gave ye officer yt brought ye Nabob's present for ye Kinge Rups 100 wch was more worth then then ye present they brought."

The journal records various particulars of towns they passed on the journey and incidents which occurred. Several of the towns had been visited on the way up to the *Leschar*. From Ancola they went to Angour where Edward Norris had a bad attack of fever. Passing through Maurdagom, Parenda and Bohum, they reached Chowsaloe on the 12th, February

"neare a good water and in a plentifull place standinge upon ye Top of a high gatt ye evening & morninge very sharp & cold just after sun sett this night wee discoverd ye Tayle of a Comett ye comett it selfe not appearing above ye Horison ye Tayle was about 25 degrees as neare as wee could guesse it here west ½ a point sly."

After a long and tedious march they reached Bere on the 13th which is described as

"ye largest Town yt I have seen in India, is very populous, all provisions very plenty. A fine River Running by it & all around ye richest country in these parts & ye best Employd ye 2d crop of corn beinge now halfe grown on ye ground, wee marchd thro' 3 Longe Bazars wch stand (as all Bazars doe) out of ye Town, there are 3 castles but none of much strength, it is a large and Rich Government."

At Mosee Pandarsee, being much fatigued, they stayed two days. After passing through a large town named Perory, Sir William encamped at Shagour, where he gave his retinue the opportunity of laying out their money to "ye best advantage." The journal gives a vivid picture of Indian trade and barter.

"Beteales wch are best and cheapest here of any place on this side ye country and is ye cheife Town of Trade inhabited most by Gentoos who are an Industrious busy people; and ye Moores Drones accordingly to prevent their beinge cheatd directd Mr. Hale who understood it best to assist ym all in buyeing their muslins who wth Mr. Mills sent for ye cheife merchant of ye Town contracted wth him for a stated price 4 Rupees and halfe a peice went to ye merchants house to pick out ye quantity accordinge to muster who first tryd to put upon ym by bringing ym much worse and tryd to cheate ym by false light and findinge neither of those methods to take notwithstandinge his bargain fairly told ym he would not sell His Beteels under 13 Rups *p* peice soe they came away without laying out a pice. They are ye pitifullest Raschalls cheates and none of ym deserve ye name of merchants throughout India yt I have mett with Aurengabad and Suratt and many other places are supplyd wth fine muslins and variety of other white cloaths from Shageur a very large Town well walld and scituate by a large River called Gong (this river Gong in ye raines rises above 40 foot even to ye Banks ye 12 canon I gave ye Emprr carryd over by Mr. Hackett in boates ye river now not a foot high) wch was 3000 miles and emptys itselfe into ye sea att point palmeras neare ye famous pagod Angro petty neare wch place one of ye mouths of ye River Ganges emptys it selfe from thence this River called Gong."

He passed Dehmondwee as on his former journey, and encamped at Movsah Ponzee. Galgawn was reached on the 20th February and the following day Nassampore, where he stayed two days.

In a Council held at Surat on the 22nd it was resolved that Rustomji should remain at the Emperor's court in order to secure the *phirmaunds.* This almost suggests an implied censure on Sir William by Sir Nicholas Waite and his colleagues for having left Bramporee without them.[1]

The march was resumed on 23rd and at Nassampore there was a mild alarm among them by being told of 700 Genims having been seen at Degawn. These, however, departed on learning of the Ambassador's approach. After passing through several towns well "stord wth corn" they arrived at Boncalee, where "a moores tomb" appears to have attracted Sir William's admiration. He records that the dome of it

"is ye finest architecture I have seen in India ye best stone and ye

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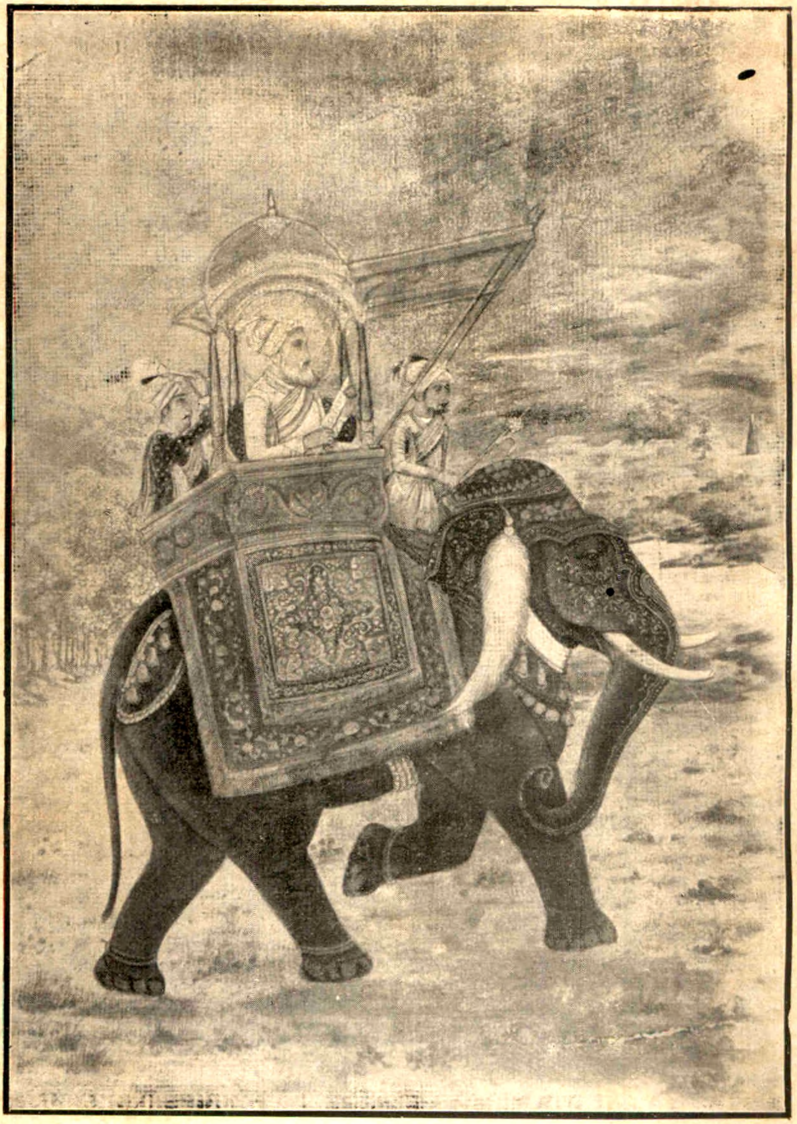
[1] *See* Vol. 5, pp. 318-20 of Surat Factory Records.



AURANGZIB RIDING ON AN ELEPHANT IN A GOLDEN *Howdah*

(*Reproduced by courtesy of W. C. Trikha*) best cemented ye Diameter within 27 foot ye height about 50 ffoot soe good an echo yt ye musick tryd all their instruments."

On the 25th they arrived at Succoree after a ten corse march over rough country. On the way thither they saw

> "a company of ffackers wth 3 or 4 fflags wth wch they were goeinge in procession and designinge to place ym upon a saints Tomb yt lys att Dollubad. These people have a saint in ye same place they call Sultun Shau Dawd wch may be a corruption of ye word David and stylinge Sultan and Kinge makes it more probable. They tell you nobody prays in vain to him and will affirme yt if a man goes and prays att his Tomb wth Iron ffetters on they will immediately drop of : But ye most Renownd saint amongst them (who likewise has his Tomb neare Dollabad) and is constantly Invokd by both moroes and Gentoos especially in Travelinge is Dum whom all ye Indians wth me faile not to call to att least ten times a day all ye while wee travell. They tell you storys of Him yt he was a very holy mortifyd ffackir and stood 12 yeares upon one leg and in one posture upon a wheele wch is ye reason ye people have yt Regard to him' and when any of [them] begin a journey they generally promise to carry sweetmeats to his Tomb and yt makes him a freind."

They passed Jaunah, Cundunporee, and reached Pohunnee on the 27th. On the way they saw a small fort called Cancrea upon a high mountain, near which they encountered

> "a solitary ffackir supplyd wth water and Rice by those yt come on purpose to see him."

He records that they

> "marcht neare a greate castle calld Galnah where they Report 1000 Guns ye Governr of it Governr of a province."

At Kokely two days were spent in the same mango garden as had been occupied on the upward march. Here he records in the journal a remarkable story of the strength, endurance and patience of an Indian woman of the labouring classes, wife of one of his carters. Her husband being ill she was driving the cart with him in it when she was delivered of a man child and with practically no help and little refreshment was almost immediately up and about at her work as before. The woman

> "all yt day and every day since wth her child in her hand: our marches long and tedious and she and ye child overturned ye day after she was brought to bed, and neither tooke any hurt, but ye woman as well as over she was as lusty and performed her businesse as well as ye Best. I orderd one of my pages to carry her 5 Rupees to make much of her selfe and her child."

March 1st being a Sunday was spent in Camp and the leisure is used to describe his surroundings. Among these is a fine plantation of sugar canes with all machinery required to

> "grind ye canes and boyle ye Sugar. In ye same plantation wth ye Sugar Canes there grows Trees wch produce berrys out of wch they press ye oyle wch serves to feed and keepe in their lights: ye berrys of this Tree is coverd wth such like outward husk as a cheanutt and he leafe not unlike ye ground hereabouts well cultivated Rich."

Next day they marched to Dehell, through a mountainous course, and found the town deserted on account of

> "ye Genims appearinge 2 or 3 days since in some numbers hereabouts, ye people Hide all their corn in ye ground and Run up ye mountains to save themselves carryinge their wives and children and a little Rice for subsistence."

Meanwhile on 4th the Council at Masulipatam informed Sir William that Daud Khan was besieging Fort St. George by the Mogul's command and that the inhabitants were to be kept in confinement till the Old Company should pay their debts at Surat. From the Council at the latter place came the disappointing news that no ships were likely to sail for Europe that year. They also informed him that the Emperor's treasurer had been appointed Governor of Surat, his predecessor having been turned out of office.

Through some rich, fertile country they arrived at Noroporee and encamped

> "in a large Suroy about 100 yardes square built by ye Emperors favorite daughter ye Begum yt is now att Bramporee."

On their next stage the route lay through a forest between Noroporee and Geree Chowki, in which grows the timber used for shipbuilding by the merchants of Surat. After passing Beawry they encamped at Balour in a tamarind grove on 7th March.

Two days afterwards they arrived at Bernoli, a large town, the inhabitants "mostly Gentoos" and reached Noquedabowry the following day about twelve miles from Surat. Here he had a kind of official welcome from gentlemen of the factory and Captains of the ships. Sir Nicholas Waite was not with them but sent his regrets. Sir William now desired above all things to see England once more. Great, therefore, was his annoyance on being informed that the President and Council intended to oppose his having a ship for this purpose. They had resolved that all the ships should be engaged for trading purposes. His natural indignation and suspicions were roused. He believed that the Consul was afraid of an unfavourable report on himself when the Embassy should arrive in England. The Consul even

> "had ye Impudence to assert yt now I was come away ye Embassy was ceasd and yt nobody ought to take notice of me."

Sir William entered Surat in State on March 12th, the retinue being much reduced from what it had been. The horse guards wore their grenadier caps and the union flag was carried on the elephant presented by the Emperor. Mr. Hale carried the Sword of State before His Excellency. The Englishmen who came to escort him were Mr. Lock, Mr. Cary and two others in a coach, with Mr. Pereira, the Jew, who had met him at Noquedabowry. Sir John Gayer writing on 24th March to Thomas Pitt declares that the Ambassador's

> "reception at his return was as mean as his outset was glorious, neither the Governor, his son nor any officer in the city taking any notice of him."[1]

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[1] *See* Vol. 100, Surat Factory Records.

Mr. Lock told him that he had come of his own accord, and that the Consul had not sent him. All this was galling in the extreme. Since no members of either the New or the Old Company showed him any consideration he might leave Surat immediately. Indeed, no greater disregard could be shown the King's representative than to send only one coach to meet him. He was convinced that the Consul was trying to prevent his embarkation knowing that if his conduct were known in England he would be dismissed from office. One proof of his disloyalty was that only the day before he had allowed three of the Company's ships to leave Surat in spite of Sir William's repeated requests for one to take him to England.

The Ambassador now tried the high hand and summoned the President and Council to meet him in his quarters the following day at 9 A.M. to discuss important affairs of the Company. In reply he was requested to communicate in writing to the President

> "the several matters wherein the honor of His Majty and the interest of the Compa are concerned."

They added that the matters would receive their best consideration and that their opinion would be given him in order to avoid future misunderstanding. Smarting under these earthly humiliations, he turned to a Higher Power. The journal runs

> "most heartily and sincerly return my unfeigned Thankes to ye greate God of Heaven for bringinge me and my Retinue in safety to this place and for his manifold and most gratious deliverances out of Imminent and greate Dangers Humbly beseechinge Almighty God for ye meritts and mercy of Jesus Christ to continue his ffavours to us and providentiall care over us, yt if it be his blessed will wee may all arrive in his appointed time to our own Country in safety to ye Comfort of our Relations and freinds wee left behind and ye Lord make us all truly Thankfull yt we may shew forth his praise and wondrous workes not only wth our Lips but wth our

Lives Amen Amen. Tibi Laus Tibi Gloria Tibi Gratiarum Actio : Nunc et in sempiterna secula O Beata Trinitas."

(*Concluded*)

HARIHAR DAS

Note.—A few names of Mogul officials and oriental appellations which occurred in my articles on Sir William Norris, already published in this magazine, might require some alteration in the spelling. They will be inserted in their right form in my forthcoming book on the embassy.—H.D.

THE PATHS OF GLORY

I heard with smile the boast of human power—
The stars' effulgent fire with blood-drops it would quench,
And blind the face of heaven with smoke and fire and stench,
And mounted on young Science' insolent tower,

Peer o'er the shoulders of the oldest sun,
And pluck its red ball from the shining fields of dawn,
And plunder planet's store and hold them fast as pawn
Till the hoarded treasures of the sky are won.

Scorn flashed the stars on such an idle boast—
The smallest specks of light outlived the battle's storm,
And unimpeded life, in man as in the worm,
Fed earth from age to age, a generous host.

Has earth grown smaller for the tyrant's brood ?
Has thunder lost its roar or lightning sheathed its lance,
Has heaven shrunk in size and lost its sunbright glance
In trembling fear of fate-child's savage mood ?

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, EDINBURGH, 1925

The Adult Educational Section.

The Adult Educational Section only sat once and passed no resolutions. The Chairman, *Sir Michael Sadler*, read us a polished little essay on the distinctive contributions of each nation to the culture of the world. He and other speakers reminded us of the comprehensive meanings which may be attached to the term Adult-Education. Travel, conversation, business, local self-government were all mentioned as powerful aids to adult education and no one can deny that they are. You may use the term quite indefinitely for all moral and mental benefits derived from association with your fellows. But I think by widening its application you restrict its practical usefulness. I prefer a somewhat narrower and increasingly prevalent definition. Take University education to mean the pursuit of truth and knowledge for their own sakes. Adult Education is often taken to mean the provision of University education in this sense to those who feel the need for it but cannot attend universities. *Professor Kemp Smith* of Edinburgh favoured this definition, and spoke of the recent rapid increase of W.E.A. evening classes in Edinburgh. He deplored the tendency of political parties to use Summer Schools, Labour Colleges and Evening Classes for their propaganda. "If it be admitted that one main purpose of all education is to bring about greater mutual understanding, and so to aid in overcoming the suspicions and mutual antagonisms which party spirit is only too apt to arouse, then surely we cannot regard with equanimity this tendency for the political parties to take over... .....the responsibility of the Community as a whole."

Dr. P. J. Hartog, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, also urged the need of self-denial on the part of the teacher.

He must never attempt to impart his own views on social and political questions. The individual conscience must be respected and men must be given material and opportunities for using their own judgment. This is true of adult education as defined above, in contra-distinction to the type imparted in Labour College Classes and Conservative Summer Schools.

Col. Mitchell, Secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, pleaded for closer liaison between education authorities and public libraries, for more elastic and serviceable library administration, and for development of county and village libraries. Sir Michael Sadler had already paid a tribute to America in this connection. "They have led the world in organizing the public library service on an educational pattern for modern needs in adult education...........Perhaps the greatest need of adult education in our country at any rate is improved library facilities, facilities made educational by all the skill which those trained in the arts of teaching and helping can give, and available for the individual student and for the group student, not only in the town but in the country."

We have still much to learn from America in this respect. It is significant that until recently Indian Native States and Provinces in need of expert advice on Library administration have had to send to America. They can now, I think, get experts trained in Baroda. I have read with great interest the 1926 Baroda Library hand-book, obtainable from the Central Library, Baroda (2-). In 1911 the Maharaja appointed an American expert to organize his library department. During his three years' tenure of office he founded the Baroda Central Library; started a system of free, state-aided libraries and reading rooms in all parts of the State; organised travelling libraries; and established the first class for librarians in India. The Baroda Central Library is prepared to train librarians gratis and has done so for Mysore, Indore and Elphinstone College. More than one Indian Province has recently initiated a library scheme. I hope that before long the Bernard Free Library in Rangoon will be developed into a Central Library with a Country Branch supplying independent local libraries, reading-rooms and travelling libraries. For this we shall need expert advice and it will cost money; but State expenditure on libraries is true economy for, without them, most of the money spent on schools is wasted. Adult Education through libraries is too important a function to be left to local enterprise or local authorities in India at present.

Indian Associations and the Y.M.C.A. in Rangoon maintain night schools for the illiterate classes. The High School boys of St. John's College have recently opened a night school as an opening for social service. Higher forms of adult education have been too long neglected in Burma, especially by the Burmese community among whom few men are illiterate. This is for Burma a time of awakened political consciousness and of faith in the power of education. Burma needs more citizens who will use their instructed intelligence for the common good. There are dangers in introducing a democratic form of government in a country unused to it; the danger of oligarchy resulting instead of democracy, the danger of lethargy and absence of public opinion: the danger of a public opinion misdirected by party politicians or by herd instincts. We need above all things clear thinking and a healthy public opinion. Education alone can give us them but we must not trust too much in school education or in newspapers useful as they are. Thinking men are every day expressing disappointment at the results of fifty years of compulsory education and cheap newspapers in England. A child at school, even at a good school, hangs with pathetic trust on his teacher's words and accepts uncritically what he sees in his text books. Modern school methods mitigate this tendency but it is largely a psychological necessity of childhood. The difference between school education and the best university education is the difference between uncritical acceptance and independent judgment. The same difference is even more marked between school education and true adult education. I have already attempted to define it. Here is another definition from the " Adult Education Year Book " recently published in England. " Adult Education has a definite significance. It has come to mean the pursuit by men and women in their leisure hours of those liberal and non-vocational studies by means of which a man may understand himself and his world, determine the personal and social values which shall govern his thought and action, and learn to serve his generation in whatever way seems to him most vital. Such studies teach him both how to enjoy life and how to use it to the full."

There are many ways of encouraging such self-education but the most widely effective and cheapest is the library method. You can organise classes and study circles only at centres of populations, and it is expensive to do so efficiently, but library facilities can be brought to every village at comparatively small cost.

The Report on Libraries and Museums by the English Adult Education Committee of 1919 condemned all small stationary libraries because they cannot provide a sufficient variety of books to maintain local interest and so rapidly become moribund. It made a number of suggestions for a living and varied supply of books to small towns and villages. Some of these suggestions made in a period of war optimism, have been sacrificed to reactionary interest and economy, but a good many have been tried by enlightened Local Education Authorities in England. In some countries motor-van Libraries in charge of a librarian chauffeur can be seen halting in villages for exchange of books. A more common system is for country Education Authorities to lend boxes of books for some months to village libraries as is done by the State of Baroda.

The main argument in the 1919 Report is for connecting libraries with educational administration, in England the country and borough Local Education Authorities. So long as our Local educational authorities deal only with primary education, library organisation should, I think, be a function of the Provincial Government working through a Central Library in Rangoon.

We should, of course, have other organised facilities for higher adult education. Of lectures we have plenty in Rangoon, and they do serve to stimulate interest, discussion and serious study, but their usefulness ends there. We want also tutorial classes and study circles for those students who feel the need for them. There is one difficulty in organising tutorial classes ever present in all countries. If established with unpaid teachers they may do good for a time but sooner or later they languish. After the first enthusiasm wanes, the voluntary teachers either retire or fail to provide instruction of the standard expected by the students. To retain serious teachers for serious students costs so much money that state aid eventually becomes essential. That is one side of the difficulty. The other side is that adult education, whatever may be the ideals of its organisers, is apt to be tinged with political or social propaganda, or at least suspected of that tendency. The workers' Educational Association invented tutorial classes and is responsible for three-quarters of the tutorial classes in England. The majority of its students are of the working class and many approach the study of political and economic questions with a socialistic bias. Consequently, tutorial classes are not receiving the financial support they deserve from English Local Education Authorities or from the Board of Education. Conversely, any attempt by Government in Burma or India to organise tutorial classes would be suspected at present of pro-government or pro-diarchical propaganda. Two years ago an experiment in adult education was made in Rongoon. A few enthusiasts called a public meeting which appointed a committee to organise a few classes during the rains. The main object was to test the demand in Rangoon for such classes. It was hoped, if the experiment succeeded, to form later a strong Adult Education Committee, as had been done in Bombay, which could apply to Government for the funds required to set the work on a permanent footing. Three classes were opened, for Indian Economic History, British Empire Constitutional History, and English Literature. The tutors were unpaid enthusiasts, one was a Burmese barrister, the other two, an Indian and a Burman, were teachers in the University. There was no lack of students prepared to attend regularly. Two classes successfully ended their courses, the other did not because the tutor, a working barrister, had to attend to his cases up-country. This experiment proved the danger of even slight official connection with such classes. The movement was unfortunately connected, though not intimately, with the Imperial Idea Committee, a body administering a lecture fund provided partly by Government and partly by donations from business firms. This Committee provided only introductory lectures on the subjects to be studied by each class. Students were enrolled after these introductory lectures. This led to misrepresentations in the press and questions in the Legislative Council on the aims of the temporary Adult Education Committee and on the source of its funds which were non-existent. In England a conservative Government is starving a popular movement for Adult Education. In Burma the representatives of the people were hostile to a movement for Adult Education suspected of connection with Government. In both cases the motive for obstruction was the same : the fear of propaganda.

After the experiment I have described I am convinced that there is a real need for tutorial classes in Rangoon; that clerks, schoolmasters and other workers would attend them, at any rate during the rains; but that any successful scheme for their organisation must be entirely not official in origin, and secure grant from Government for the remuneration of tutors.

Bombay has an Adult Education Association. We should have one too. It should be a strong and representative association, the result of co-operation of our various communities. Such an association could, I think, secure the aid of Government and of the University, both of which are essential. Under these conditions tutorial classes would have a bright prospect in Rangoon but they imply an effort of co-operation between communities and political parties which it is perhaps optimistic to expect at present. A library movement could be initiated by Government without incurring suspicions of propaganda and there is, therefore, more immediate hope of such a movement succeeding.

University Education.

There was little coherent discussion in this Section but some very stimulating speeches.

Professor Patrick Geddes spoke on Universities past, present and possible. He sketched the history of their development as Hellenic, Hellenistic, Monastic, Mediæval, Renaissance, Encyclopedic, and Examinational. He bore witness to a growing tendency to "Synthetic aspirations and endeavours" and predicted further unification of the arts and sciences. He especially commended general courses which emphasize the inter-relation of all human knowledge, and suggested that their initiation in America may be a prelude to the development of a new type of University.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, representing the International Moral Education Congress, and a retired member of the I.C.S., sketched the development of university education in India from the foundation of the Presidency Universities in 1857 to recent developments connected with the Sadler Commission. He informed the Section that the world-wide university problems of secular *versus* religious education; the classics *versus* useful modern knowledge; technical *versus* cultural education and teaching *versus* examining universities are nowhere more hotly debated than in India. He claimed that each Indian University specialises in some branch of knowledge which gives it a character of its own, and instanced the Social Studies of the Calcutta University, work on Sanskrit texts at Mysore, and the Department of Islamic Studies of the Dacca University. I hope the time is not far distant when the University of Rangoon will acquire its own special character and win a special reputation through research and courses in Indo-Chinese history and archaeology. The ground has been broken, the pioneers are here, there is virgin soil to plough but so far the money required to place this distinctive work on a sure footing in our University has been refused.

Dr. Henry N. MacCracken of Vassar more definitely stressed the ends of the conference, the direction of instruction towards international goodwill. He was illuminating on the subject of truth and propaganda, reminded us that we were all engaged in propaganda, and warned us that propaganda cannot be avoided even in university teaching. He criticised acutely the project of a World University, and endorsed it only so far as it meant "An international guild of scholars, teachers, and students moving freely from one capital of the world's culture to another in the search for truth. The funds which may be at the disposal of this Federation are too precious to be spent on bricks and mortar for the erection of a World University in one place or in any group of places." "While we are saying 'Lo, here' or 'Lo there!' the University of the World will have escaped us and found a......home elsewhere."

Dr. MacGillivray of Glasgow University told the Section that all Universities should be World Universities "for the pursuit of pure and disinterested knowledge or for the pure and disinterested pursuit of knowledge. That is the conception of a University we have in Scotland and I do not see what more you will get out of any so-called World University because you must plant it somewhere and wherever you plant it, it will take its colour and atmosphere from that place and from the teachers engaged in it. No teacher is able to see the whole of truth. We can only see a portion of it through heredity and environment, and we cannot get rid of these by calling the place we work in a World University or anything else."

Dr. R. A. Duff of the University of Glasgow stated ten general difficulties as a peg for discussion. They would serve usefully as agenda for any general discussion of University problems. His questions were so probing, stimulating, and universal, they go so near the heart of the questions to be solved in Rangoon that I think it worth-while to quote them verbatim.

"First of all, one difficulty which faces Universities is the steady trend not only towards national Universities but to provincial, and still more to local or urban Universities. Communities now seem to regard a University as one of the indispensable elements of the equipment of any fair-sized community. Is this a desirable or an undesirable development to the University students?

Secondly, does the democratising of the Universities with the ever-increasing volume of students who are being sent on from the secondary schools, involve necessarily a lowering of the standard of university education and of the level of scholarship for the best? Now, is individual training being sacrificed on the altar of the advancement of the mediocre or the average man?

Thirdly, Universities tend to become increasingly a means by which professional advancement is secured. They tend to become a preparation for the different callings. They make ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers. Do they also make scholars and men who are in love with learning irrespective of their professions and callings in life? Are they professional schools of training, or are they seminaries of learning and for the lover of truth?

Fourthly, now that more and more of our Universities are opening their doors to women or establishing Women's Universities for themselves, we are faced by two new problems. The one is whether education is or is not a helpful method or line of development to both sexes. The other is whether the same education that has been found good for men in the past and in the present is necessarily equally good for women in the present and in the future.

Fifthly, how far does lay control threaten to take away the freedom of the University teacher and the internal autonomy of educational institutions ? That control exists on the old principle that he who pays the piper has a right to call the tune. One cannot object to him calling the tune, but one may object to him composing the tune as well. Is the lay control a necessary evil, and, if necessary at all, is it an inevitable condition of progress ? We are faced by it in two forms—the private donor who can establish a University out of the profits of his millions in oil or something else. We are faced by it in the form of the State, which can establish equally permanently and perhaps even more generously. In this country so far, although we have not had much experience of public funds given for these purposes, we are increasingly obtaining experience, and our public funds are administered under what is known as the Universities Grants Committee. That Committee, I think, deserves a word of praise, because its principle has been to leave the Universities the utmost possible autonomy, to give money in lump sums and without detailed conditions. The policy also of this Grants Committee is largely determined not by Civil Servants but by academically trained and academically engaged men. Still, the evil is there, the difficulty is there—that State control which also involves State regulations and State domination of teaching and curriculum.

Sixthly, are the University teachers' conditions such as lend themselves to the best work ? I refer not merely to things like salaries and status, but still more to opportunities of leisure, of travel, of obtaining access to books and to technical equipment. Has the teacher in the Universities always the tools, the time and the strength for the best work of which he is capable?

Seventh, is the relation of the students and their teachers a healthy and invigorating one? Is the system one of spoon-feeding, or, as Professor Geddes described it, shutting your eyes and opening your mouth, or passive reception? Or, is it one of encouraging reaction, criticism and different points of view? Is the examinee who is word-perfect the ideal of the system, or is the man of independent and fresh mind what it aims at?

Eighth, are the students' own organisations and associations very healthy and vigorous? Do they educate one another as much as their teachers educate them, or more? Do they inherit and help to pass on a valuable tradition? Are they allowed and encouraged to shoulder responsibility, to develop judgment, foresight, loyalty, manliness and self-government?

Ninth, and this is my second last point, do the various Universities think and act as if each were a complete whole in itself, having common aims indeed but no community of life and no transfusion of blood? Or, are they ready to let the current of intellectual movement flow freely as between themselves, so far as their times and their funds will permit them?

And, lastly, have the different Universities, besides their main contribution to the progress and welfare of the world, any important bye-product to give it? For example, would the comity of learning tend to the comity of nations? Do common interests in science and art and letters actually conduce to common social, economic and political interests? And will the free flow of academic life help that will for peace on which the stability of civilisation largely rests? If it be so, then the Universities of the world may in this way make not the least notable of their contributions to the welfare of their own people whom they serve and whose highest aspirations and traditions they are set in the land to express."

This Section passed few resolutions. It amplified an earlier resolution of the 1923 Conference for unification of scientific terminology. It did not endorse the project for a World University, but it favoured the establishment of a universal library office and inquiry into methods of bibliography and their possible improvement, and considered that this office might ultimately be connected with an International University.

For want of space I must deal very briefly with the Sections on Teacher Training, Character Training, and Health. In the *Teacher Training Section,* Professor J. J. Findlay of Manchester University asked us to consider world sympathy as an "addition to capacity" which can be acquired without forfeiting local or national sympathy; he warned leaders of industry in both camps, employers and employed, that school teachers should not, and generally will not, undertake to teach their propaganda. The discussion showed general agreement on the following important principles. The practical training of teachers should come after their cultural training. Future teachers should not be segregated, but get their general education alongside students preparing for other professions. Their standard of general education should be a high one, graduation or its equivalent. Greater care should be taken to ascertain whether intending teachers have a vocation. Teachers in harness require "Sabbatical years," and refresher courses.

The Character Training Section.

The Character Training Section was to me a disappointment. The Americans (U. S. A.) and Japanese prohibit the teaching of religion in schools and provide purely ethical instruction. Most other nations believe, like the Burmese, that ethical teaching should be founded on religion. It was soon evident that little could be gained by discussion between these two schools of thought. The Chairman of the Section was a Japanese, the Secretary was the Director of an American Institution for research in methods of non-religious character-training. The Secretary forwarded to the Resolutions Committee a proposal for establishing a permanent Committee of the Association for similar research and the Resolutions Committee substituted a contrary resolution referring the subject of character-training to the consideration of all sections (instead of a special section) in future conferences. The plenary meeting accepted this proposal.

The Health Section.

The Health Section passed a number of technical resolutions which the plenary meeting referred to a special committee with instructions "to carry forward the steps recommended" as far as possible in co-operation with affiliated associations. There was interesting discussion as to whether children should be taught to think about their health or not. We were told of a mother who wrote to a teacher "Honoured Miss; Liza knows a great deal too much about her innards. Please stop it." Her attitude has my sympathy, and I was glad to find that many eminent speakers in this section considered it unnecessary to introduce new subjects into the curriculum. We were informed by the secretary of the section, a New Yorker, that physiology and hygiene has been taught in American schools for many years before the war startled public opinion by revealing that thirty-three per cent. of American young men were below par. All agreed that our first object should be to teach healthy habits, and the desire to be healthy; and that medical examination and treatment of school children, which was well defined as "the superintendence of growth," is an essential public service.

International Relations Section.

A number of the resolutions forwarded by this Section had been covered by resolutions from other sections. The plenary meeting passed a resolution that "it is the function of teachers to help their pupils to realise that the world is a unity, that nations and peoples are inter-dependent, economically and otherwise, and that true nationalism is not inconsistent with true internationalism." That resolution well epitomizes the trend of the speeches.

Mr. J. H. Hudson, M.P., went straight to the fundamental objects of the association, and claimed that the prevention of war should be one of the first objects of the teachers of to-day. He warned us that we are handicapped by belonging to a generation which has developed militarism to a degree unparalleled in the history of the world, a generation which, if it did not extol war, always took it for granted. Hence our unconscious prejudices lead us, unless we are careful, to unconscious propaganda of militarism. He reminded us how every big war has been followed by economic depression, and curtailment of civil liberties obtained before it. (India, owing to special reasons, provided a striking exception to this general rule after the great war.) He asked teachers of history to teach world development as well as national development, and stated that general change of our method of presenting history was more important than specialized teaching of the aims and accomplishments of the League of Nations.

Professor Charles Sarolea, a well-known Belgian writer, and Professor of French in the University of Edinburgh, illustrated the same point from the prevalent treatment of the Franco-Scottish alliance in Scotch history text-books and literature. It is represented as an alliance of chivalry illustrating the most heroic achievements of the national annals. As a matter of fact the weaker nation was always exploited by the stronger, and the alliance in its political and military aspects was the most sinister fact in old Scottish history. On the other hand, another alliance, the spiritual, intellectual and literary alliance between Scotland and France, which was glorious, has been generally neglected. Professor Sarolea pleaded for the closer study of foreign languages, and told amusing stories of misunderstandings caused by ignorance of idiom and shades of meaning. A Roman Catholic Cardinal, to whom the University of Glasgow offered a complimentary degree of Doctor of Divinity, refused it in the following terms, "I cannot accept that honour. I am damned if I do." He meant, "I am a priest, and if I accept this mortal honour I shall commit a mortal sin."

"War arises," said another speaker, "from the traditions and teachings that foster the belief that nations must be rivals and not units in a common partnership, and from the attitude of mind that still regards war as part of the unalterable law of nature, as a reliable arbiter and a glorious adventure rather than as an irrational guide and a sordid catastrophe." The best antidote to this attitude of mind is to grasp the economic fact that "men who do business with each other do not promote their interests when they fight. Both victor and vanquished lose by fighting."

The Future of the World Federation of Educational Associations.

I hope that educational associations and Universities in India and Burma will become interested in the work of the Federation and apply for affiliation to it. Its value depends on its representative character. It will continue to hold biennial conferences, and seems likely to appoint a permanent secretariat to keep its policy before the world. India and Burma will sooner or later be influenced by the policy of such an influential association and should have a share in shaping it. The Federation invites all persons interested to take part in its conferences; U Cho and myself were delegated to do so at Edinburgh by the Government of Burma and we took part in the discussions though no association in Burma is affiliated to the association; but according to the constitution of the Federation only representatives of affiliated Associations can vote at the elections of the Board of Directors or on the policy of the Federation.

The Board of Directors now consists of:—

President—Dr. Thomas, U. S. A.
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Associations interested should communicate with the Secretary, Mr. C. H. Williams, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A., or with the President, Dr. A. O. Thomas, Commissioner of Education, Augusta, Maine, U. S. A., who will supply application forms and full particulars. National Teachers Associations are the most powerful bodies in the Federation. I regret that Burma has no such

Association at present, but I hope our University will become affiliated.

The value of such Conferences cannot be gauged only by the resolutions they have passed and the policy they recommend. Their influence remains to be seen. The great achievement of the Edinburgh Conference was to bring us all together. That alone was sufficient justification for holding it. No other educational conference has been so large and representative; none has been attended by so many distinguished educational workers.

The proceedings of the conference have been published in two volumes which can be obtained for nine shillings from the editor, Mr. G. C. Pringle, 47, Moray Place, Edinburgh. The volumes are well indexed and contain verbatim reports of all speeches. They are a mine of interesting information and ideas and should be in every public and college library.

J. P. BULKELEY

ECCE HOMO!

Alnaschar, the richest Israelite merchant of the days gone by, turned away the beggars with blows from his doors. He ordered his slaves to stone the lame and the helpless and the lepers, the scum of society, whose sight was said to disgust him. And it came to pass that one night when he gave one of his wondrous feasts which were the envy of the Israelites, there came several maimed and blind beggars. In the house of rejoicings and music, the sight of the hungry and the helpless people, clad in rags, was incongruous. Alnaschar was sick at heart to see the horrible beggars and was so disgusted that he ordered his beautifully-built slaves to drive them away with the lashes of a whip.

The feasters were verily surprised at Alnaschar's behaviour for he could have fed all the beggars or given them his little mite. So they turned unto him and asked him:

"Wherefore do you turn away these helpless and hungry people? Why, you could feed their empty mouths with even the very scum of this gorgeous feast!"—and they looked at the marvels set on the tables in dishes of the thinnest crystal and bowls of jade and ivory set in with little beryl stones. Alnaschar laughed and spake unto his guests:

"I am rich because I never give unto the beggars, nor do I feed them. They are parasites. I could not feed the disgusting people. Poverty is harrowing. What pleasure is there in seeing maimed people, clad in rags? They are a stain on my lovely surroundings. The lustre of my palace of marble and jewels is dimmed by them!" And he gazed upon the lovely things that surrounded him—rare wonders, slaves with the physique of gymnasts, jewellery, intoxicating Thracian wine, seductive, sensuous, Eastern perfumes. "It would take several days to go through my treasury and examine the coffers of my wealth of all the countries," said Alnaschar, and his guests were dazed with the riches of this rich man.

After many many years Alnaschar was stricken with the palsy and his arms and hands were paralysed and became stiff. He had more slaves and scribes than he could remember but yet he was helpless. In his illness he fell down and broke his leg which even the greatest physicians could not set right. And when in his agonies, Alnaschar limped in his palace of riches and glory, it dawned upon him how much the lame suffer. And then he became blind of both his eyes. And darkness surrounded him and it was a torture to him to live in this maimed condition. His wealth was useless unto him. He prayed unto the Lord to forgive him his transgressions and begged to be restored to his former health.

"I will feed a thousand beggars every day, O Lord, if thou shalt restore me my health."

But he remained in his helpless, maimed condition.

ADI. K. SETT

THERE IS AN ISLAND[1]

There is an island, in my heart, of cool delight ;
Tempt not its shores.
Green waters wrap it tight
And they are cold. No coral warms their floors.
And they are dark as starless night.

There is an island, in my heart, of cool delight,
Of winds and caves.
Clouds crown its height,
Rocks break to spray the clamorous waves
Beating on it with futile might.

There is an island, in my heart, of cool delight,
Green trees and sky,
Grey mists obscure its sight
From casual or curious eye.
A swallow touched it once in flight.

MARION M. BOYD

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[1] Reproduced from *The Bookman*, June, 1926.

CHRONOLOGY DEVELOPED IN "THE ORION" UNTENABLE

We shall in this article discuss just one point raised by the great scholar, the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in his " Orion." At the very outset we are bound to remark that " the Orion " is a splendid astronomical exposition which can serve to check the extravagant chronological guesses of others. It may have, or has, its faults, but it shews very simply this that the commencement of the Ṛgvedic period cannot be carried " hundreds of thousands " and millions of years back, and that neither can it be carried down to 800 B.C. It is not the object of our present enquiry to deal with all the points raised in " the Orion " concerning the early Vedic Age. We shall mention just one point raised in it in connection with the later Vedic Period.

Tilak says (" The Orion," 2nd edition, Chapter III, p. 36), " It is clear, therefore, that in the days of Varāhamihira, there existed works which placed the winter solstice in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and the summer solstice in the middle of Ashlesa. This statement of Varāhamihira is fully corroborated by quotations from Garga and Parāśara which we meet with in the works of later commentators: and it appears that the system of commencing the year with the month of Māgha which corresponds with the above position of the solstices was actually in vogue. The account of the death of Bhīṣma related in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana parva, 167 ch., shows that the old warrior who possessed the superhuman power of choosing his time of death, was waiting on his death-bed for the return of the sun towards the north from the winter solstice, and that this auspicious event took place in the first half of the month of Māgha. It is evident from this that the winter solstice must have coincided in those days with the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā as described in the Vedāṅga Jyōtisha and other works."

It is abundantly clear from this quotation that Tilak is at one with us in holding that at the time of the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava, the winter solstice coincided with the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā.

In the preface (p. vi) to " the Orion " Tilak further defines his chronological attitude by writing " According to this view the Mahābhārata war must be placed in the Krittika period, inasmuch as we are told that Bhīṣma was waiting for the turning of the sun from the winter solstice in the month of Māgha." The Kṛttikā period according to Tilak "commences with the vernal equinox in the asterism of the Krittikas and extends up to the period recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa, *i.e.*, from 2500 B.C. to 1400 B.C." ("The Orion," p. 207, 1st edition, Ch. VIII.) It is clear from this that Tilak thinks that the period recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa is roughly about 1400 B.C., and we have already seen that this time recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa was, according to Tilak himself, the time about which Bhīṣma died. It follows then that Tilak is of opinion that the Mahābhārata war happened about 1400 B.C.

Tilak holds (" Orion," 2nd edition, p. 34) that his astronomical method "based upon old observations" involving " inevitable want of accuracy does not affect" his "conclusions to such an extent as to make them practically useless for chronological purposes." He says " Suppose there is a mistake of 5° in observing the position of the sun with reference to a fixed star * *. This would cause an error of not more than 5 × 72 = 360 years in our calculations, and in the absence of better means there is no reason to be dissatisfied with such a result, especially when we are dealing with the remotest period of antiquity." It is clear from this attitude of Tilak that he has no quarrel with the man who holds the Mahābhārata war to have taken place about 1400 + 360 = 1760 B.C.; neither would Tilak object to anybody's holding for that war the date of about 1400 − 360 = 1040 B.C. He has given us the express sanction of 5° or 360 years; and this period due to the inevitable inaccuracy of old observations may be added to or subtracted from the dates arrived at by him in his preliminary attempt to gauge the Vedic period by the rough astronomical method. That the latitude of 360 years is passable to Tilak, is further proved by his saying ("Orion," 2nd edition, p. 38): " From these data (of the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa) astronomers have calculated that the solstitial colure occupied the position above mentioned between 1269 B.C. to 1181 B.C., according as we take the mean rate of precession of the equinoxes 50″ or 48″·6 a year." The sum and substance of Tilak's opinion is that the calculation depends on the rate of precession. It is clear from the above that the time recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa about which, according to Tilak himself, the great warrior Bhīṣma died, may be 1181 B.C. or 1269 B.C. or 1400 B.C. Tilak, according to his own admission, has no objection to these dates, as we have already seen that he has given us a range of 360 years round about his date 1400 B.C.

Now, no sane scholar should question the truth of the universally alleged incident that it was Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vedavyāsa who compiled and grouped the Vedas. It is stated in all the Purāṇas unanimously, in many places in them,[1] in a hundred places in the Mahābhārata,[2] and every student of history had admitted that it is based on truth.[3] This great Ṛṣi who was probably the greatest intellectual figure of India's ancient history, was the putative father of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. After dividing the Vedas into four groups he entrusted them to his four disciples Paila, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Sumantu, and these four in their turn handed them down to their disciples. To Vaiśampāyana was entrusted the teaching of the Yajurveda, and this Vaiśampāyana taught his disciple and nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the son of Brahmarāta (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Book III, Chapter V, 1-2 Vā 61 ch., Bh. XII, 6, 53-54, etc.).

As a result of a friction between Vaiśampāyana and his nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the latter gave up the teaching of the Yajurveda which he received from his preceptor and uncle, and afterwards compiled the Śukla Yajurveda (Vṣ III, 5 ch., Gḍ. MBh. XII, 318 ch.) also called the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā inasmuch as it was compiled by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya. The original Yajurveda which Vaiśampāyana used to teach was named the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, inasmuch as the teaching of this was taken up by the Tittira class of Brāhmaṇas—the other disciples of Vaiśampāyana. It comes to this then that these universally alleged traditions converge towards proving that the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā were compiled round about, or to be more precise, a bit later by a few years than the events of the Mahābhārata, and we are of opinion that the truth of these statements about the time of compilation of these Saṃhitās preserved in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata can never be questioned.

Now let us turn to the attitude of Tilak about the time of compilation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. He says ("The Orion," 2nd edition, p. 41) "the vernal equinox coincided with the Krittikas when the Taittirīya Saṃhitā was compiled." From this Tilak infers ("The Orion," 2nd edition, p. 57), that "the winter solstice occurred in those days on the full moon of Māgha." "According to the Vedāṅga Jyōtisha," continues Tilak ("Orion," p. 57), "it (*i.e.*, the winter solstice) fell a fortnight earlier, *i.e.*, on the first day of the bright half of Māgha." From this Tilak calculates the date of compilation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā to be 2350 B.C. (pp. 55-59), taking 14°-10′ as the distance between the 10th degree of Bharaṇī and the asterism of Kṛttika.

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[1] Vṣ. III, 4 ch., Bh. XII, 6, 44-48.

[2] Gḍ. MBH. I, 60 ch., Gḍ MBH. XII, 349 ch.

[3] *Vide* Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Book IV, 24 ch., p. 232, foot-note, for the views of H. H. Wilson, Colonel Wilford, Buchanan, etc.

We have seen before that the time of compilation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, and above all, of the compilation of the Vedas themselves by Vedavyāsa can never be prior to the events of the Mahābhārata. Here Tilak asks us to believe that the Taittirīya Saṃhitā was compiled about 2350 B.C. and to believe at the same time that about the time of the death of Bhīṣma Sāntanava the winter solstice coincided with the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā, as described in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa; and the coincidence of the winter solstice with the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā according to Tilak himself took place about 1181 B.C. or 1269 B.C. or 1400 B.C. To put it more concisely Mr. Tilak places the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava about 1181 B.C. or 1269 B.C. or 1400 B.C. and yet he feels no hesitation to place Vaiṣampāyana and Yājñavalkya about 2350 B.C. It is abundantly clear from the above that Tilak asks us to believe in an absurdity. He virtually requests us to believe that Vaiśampāyana, the compiler of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, or Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the compiler of Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, lived twelve centuries before the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava. No one, I hope, will be prepared to accept this absurd conclusion when it is distinctly borne in mind that the Vedas themselves were grouped into four by Kṛshna Dvaipāyana Vedavyāsa after the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha was burnt down by his youthful grandson Arjuna Pāṇḍava.

The conclusion therefore is inevitable that the Māghī full moon like the Phālgunī full moon and the Caitrī full moon, was one of the three traditional beginnings of the year; that is, the coincidence of the Kṛttikas with vernal equinox did not take place actually in the days of the compilation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā but long before that event. That particular passage in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā as interpreted by Tilak in the light of later commentators, really records a tradition about the Māghī full moon having been once considered as the first day of the year. The very name Saṃhitā indicates that it is a compilation, although the materials compiled might be clothed in the polished style then prevalent amongst the priests. Besides the very fact that we are given no less than three beginnings of the year shows that they are records of earlier observations, and the priests in the days of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇas, were in the habit of not only utilizing these beginnings for annual sacrifices but also using discretion as to which of them to choose. This shows how very risky it is to build up a system and to base conclusions on a doubtful passage of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā or the Brāhmaṇas.

SITA NATH PRADHAN

THE VISION WITHIN

I.

Out she ran from mother's lap,
A light unseen her led,
Clapt her hands and danced in joy,
A voice unheard her sped.
Smile-belit her playsome hair
Around bright wavelets shed.
Peeping moon with joysome smile
Her joy of heart reflects,
Venus stares her smile to catch
She moves—a star deflects—
Gentle, bright—of Love the song
The soul accepts, the world rejects.
Let the part present the whole,
Let the flesh be hid in soul.

II.

The woman there, once pure as light,
Now sells her charms for gold,
A cess-pool now of fleshly lust
Did once the Love-key hold.
O Love, dost thus to work attend
The rose in dirt to tread,
For hungry children thus to care,
To give them stone for bread?
Were she within what she is out
Thy work how gloried be!
The greatest of Thy gifts, O Love—
Of all the harmony.
A little bird upon her perched—
Her wings, her breast so white.

She folds her wings, she hides her breast,
To eye she's darkest night.
The body lost, the soul is gained
To all with love-washed sight.
That bird sweet whispers, not to sense—
"To men my name is Penitence,
But list! before His throne above
All names are lost in Him that's Love.
Look! Love's sweet light diffused around
The eye and soul are Beauty-bound."

III.

The mother hid her face and cried
In voice so harsh and strange,
The startled child shrieked and wept,
Oppressed by sudden change.
He found the mother gone and lost,
An ogre had her place,
A captive he to dark despair
That seared his heart of grace.
Now sudden her uncovered face
Rained smiles on him galore,
He swallows all with brightening eyes
And craves for more and more.
The song unheard from mother's heart
Touched in sweetness his—
"Remember, child through weal and woe,
My love's eternal kiss;
Misfortune dark or fortune bright
The same leaves thee and me;
The love that me and thee unites
Is ever true and free.
On nothing seen this love depends
This changeful life it aye transcends."

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

POPULATION AS AN INDICATION OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The Quota of population required for Healthy Economic Progress

"Big populations are necessary say the Darwinists to admit of the necessary wastage"[1] and of proper selection of the fit. Capitalists interested in maintaining a cheap and adequate supply of labour and countries possessing large areas in their colonies fit for exploitation and those nations which are prompted by international fear and jealousy to maintain large armaments might consider large population as an imperative and absolute necessity. Military adventurers like Henry IV of France, and Frederick the Great of Prussia might advocate the propagation of large families among the poor so that there would be plenty of cheap food for gunpowder.[2] The Mercantilist writers like Petty, Davenant and Child with a view to develop trade liked the development of large population. Some statesmen like Colbert have taken practical measures to encourage the increase of population. The Socialist orators[3] may like the growth of the propertyless class as that means a ready market for their wares. It may also mean a nearer approach to the point where fifty-one per cent. of the voters have no interest in the laws for protection of property, nor in the state which enforces these laws. That means a complete change in the character of the society and civilisation can be easily affected by them. A vast number of writers from St. Thomas Aquinas down to Godwin have advocated the growth of numbers as leading to the strength and riches of the country.[4]

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[1] Benjamin Kidd, Social Evolution, p. 209.

[2] See Montesquieu, The Decay of the Roman Empire, p. 13.

[3] See T. N. Carver, p. 262 (Essays in Social Justice).

[4] See A. M. Carr-Sunders—The Population Problem, pp. 20-23.

The Correct View.

Economists have sought the aid of Malthus to refute this theory. His doctrine is too-well known to need any repetition here.[1] Although other writers like Hume, Wallace, Adam Smith and Price anticipated Malthus the formulation of the law of population was however left to him.[2] To put his case briefly it might be stated that population tends to progress geometrically while food-supply increases in an arithmetical ratio and hence it is checked by vice, misery or by voluntary restraint.

The science of Eugenics comes to our rescue and exposes the folly of overstimulating the growth of population to serve some hypothetical race-end. The mere bettering of our environment as the sociologists propose will not of its own accord succeed in improving the qualities of any race. Selection has to be done. As Havelock Ellis says "it is *Good* populations and not *large* populations that are the ideal of civilised men." [3] The king's strength depends more on the *quality* rather than on the *quantity* of population.[4] It is not the numerical strength of population that wins glory for a nation but its positive achievements in the field of art, literature, science and morals. Correctly speaking every country should possess the right number of population with a high average expectation of life of the different individuals possessing health, energy, ability, manliness and courageous disposition.[1]

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[1] See T. R. Malthus, " Essay on Population," Book II, Ch. XIII.

[2] See James Bonar, " Malthus and His Work, General Introduction.

[3] See Havelock Ellis, "Yale Review," April, 1912. Quoted from Prof. Ross' " Theories of Social Progress."

[4] Bacon comments on this fact as follows : "This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France whereof England though far less in territory and population hath been an overmatch ; in regard to the middle, people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry VII was profound and admirable in making farmers and houses of of husbandry of a standard that is maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition,"—Essays on the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

As one eminent economist says, "the average length of life is the one and only sure index of whether the world is growing better; it is the unemotional but inexorable measuring rod of real social progress that can be told in figures." If this be the test, let us see how the Western Nations appear to be progressing. M. Levasseur and Prof. Mitchell say that in France the average expectation of life has risen during the last century from 29 to 40 years.[2] In the United States of America the average expectation of life is rising. In the absence of accurate life tables the average age at death can be relied upon. It was 38·7 in 1910; while it was only 31·1 in 1890.[3] In Germany the average longevity has risen from 38·1 to 48·35 years. The following tables show the expectation of life in the different countries.[4]

Males.

Countries.	Years.	At birth.	10.	20.	30.	60.	80
India	1911	22·56	38·36	27·46	22·45	10·00	3·00
Germany ...	1910-11	47·41	52·08	43·43	35·29	13·18	4·25
Austria ...	1906-10	40·49	49·08	40·90	33·49	12·86	4·41
Sweden ...	1901-10	56·98	55·58	47·66	40·20	17·19	4·47
England and Wales	1910-12	51·50	53·82	44·21	35·81	13·78	4·90
France	1898-03	45·74	49·75	41·53	34·35	13·81	4·87

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[1] The Bishop of Birmingham as Chairman of the Second Birth Rate Commission in England has said, "What a nation needed was not an unlimited number of citizens but a sufficient number of the best quality."—Quoted from the London "Times," April 8th, 1919.

Dr. Edwin Cannan advocates the rearing of "economic population in each country taking into account its food resources and industrial capacity." See his "Economic Outlook," chapter on the "National Ideal."

Mr. W. I. King who studies the population question from the pecuniary point of view says, "It should be the aim of every nation to keep its population at that number which is bound to result in the greatest amount of real income to the average citizen." See his "Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," p. 240.

[2] See the article on "Longevity" in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

[3] It must be borne in mind that the average age at death is not the same as the average expectation of life.

[4] See Conrad, Statisk Erster Teil., p. 217. Quoted by Prof. B. Narain in his "Population Problem of India."

Females.

Countries.	Years.	At birth.	10.	20.	30.	60.	80.
India	1911	23·31	33·74	27·96	22·99	10·11	3·06
Germany ...	1910-11	50·68	53·99	45·35	37·30	14·17	4·52
Austria	1906-10	42·88	49·71	41·93	34·80	13·32	4·47
Sweden ...	1901-10	56·98	55·58	47·66	40·20	17·19	5·64
England and Wales	1910-12	55·35	55·91	47·10	93·54	15·48	4·49
France	1898-03	49·13	52·75	44·02	36·93	15·08	5·38

Healthy individuals possessing long life are essential to the economic well-being of the country and the limit to population in any country is laid down by the ratio of the index of productive efficiency to the standard of consumption. Any excess beyond this right limit would reduce either the standard of consumption below the margin of subsistence or bring to play certain forces which check the excess population.

The Case of India.

Judging India by this test it must be admitted that stagnation instead of progress is writ large in her figures. The average expectation of life has been falling continuously. Our ancients used to live till a ripe old age. The ancient Vedic prayer runs as follows: "May we live for a hundred years, may we see for a hundred years, hear a hundred years." This was our ancient ideal and it would not be an exaggeration to say that several of our ancients lived to a ripe old age of three or four score years. But the duration of life is however growing progressively shorter. The Census figures bear ample testimony to this fact. The average expectation of life at birth for an Indian is twenty-two years whereas it is forty-six for an Englishman.[1] Mr. P. K. Wattal after an exhaustive study of the Census Reports deduces the conclusion

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[1] See Sir M. Visweswarayya's Presidential Address at the I. E. Conference held at Poona in Bombay, July, 1924.

" that the average expectation of life is falling away, that large sections of our population are paying dearly for their fecundity by leading shorter lives and that early marriages are leading to debilitated constitutions and increasing infantile mortality to a great extent.[1] This huge waste of life tends to diminish the general vigour of the country for the effort that ought to have been spent on rearing healthy children is misused in giving birth to children who die prematurely and in burying or burning their bodies. It exhausts the mother's strength and impoverishes the father's income. This economic waste can be avoided. The social reformers ought to pay early attention to this fact of human suffering involved in a high birth rate. A high birth rate is a sign of national degradation. The twin evils facing our society at the present time are the high birth and death rates. A high birth rate can be checked through thoughtful provision[2] and the problem of the death rate can be tackled by increasing efforts at securing healthy conditions of life[3] The system of universal marriage needs strong condemnation from the eugenic point of view. Eugenics is the new science that is being studied to prevent race ennui.[1] The problem of rational birth control is no less urgent in this country. This involves not only a greater and greater control over the growth of population but involves a study of the eugenic value of the different classes of the population so as to deduce useful conclusions as regards the desirable rate of increase in population, the section of society that should increase and the way of propagating the better stocks of our population while allowing the unfit to be weeded out. The system of universal marriage is not the only deplorable feature. The evils arising out of this system are intensified to a large extent by performing marriages at

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[1] Mr. P. K. Wattal pleads for " the habit of cutting the coat according to the cloth as much in the matter of progeny as in every other concern of life."—See his " Population Problem in India."

[2] A movement has recently been started in this country for controlling the birth rate by the use of contraceptives. The people are now realising the relationship that exists between poverty and the high birth rate. Poverty is often the result of high birth rate while it is also true in some cases that poverty brings on this high birth rate. It needs no emphasis to say that both are undesirable and it is almost a truism to assert that a limitation of births is an indispensable necessity for human and social progress. Says Hobson, " if the ordinary man and woman are to win sufficient leisure for the education of the soul and cultivation of the taste and interests which enrich personality and raise the value of life this can be only attained on condition of some limitation of the minimum of mouths to be fed and bodies to be clothed and housed."—Evidence before the First Birth Rate Commission, the United Kingdom.

[3] If the death rate is taken as the criterion of social well-being India cannot take high rank as it has a mean annual death rate exceeding thirty. New Zealand would take the first rank as it has a mean annual death rate of less than 10 per 1000 of population. Austria, The Scandinavian States, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and Uruguay come next as they have an annual death rate of 10 to 15 per 1000. In the third division the death rate varies from 15 to 20 per 1000. Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, the Argentine Republic, Finland, Ireland, France, Italy, and Portugal fall into this division. Spain, the

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Balkan States, the Danube Valley except Rumania, Costa Rica, some of the Central American States and Japan have a death rate varying from 25 to 30 per 1000. Rumania and Ceylon rank higher than India in having a death rate lower than 30 per 1000 of population. Russia and Mexico rank with India in having a higher death rate than 30 per 1000 of population.

[1] Sir Francis Galton was the founder of this branch of knowledge. Edgar Schuster, Miss E. M. Elderton and Karl Pearson carried on research work and this science is being studied particularly by the Galton Eugenics Laboratory, the Eugenics Education Society in England and the Institute of Heredity in Boston, the Eugenic Record Office, the Volta Bureau in Washington, the American Breeders Association at St. Louis, the International Eugenics Society, the Italian Anthropological Society, etc. The real object of Eugenics is to reduce the number of children in bad houses and increase the number of children born in good houses. Bad environment, physical as well as mental, has a detrimental effect on the racial quality. Hence the aim of eugenics is to control the environment by something of a nature of out-door relief and institutional treatment. If the homes are below a certain standard of decency no assistance is to be granted. All people who are mentally affected and the epileptic, the syphilitic, the tubercular ought not to be allowed to propagate. To increase the number of children in the good houses the eugenist proposes to preach to the people their duty of increasing their families as they are healthy and fit.

Some of the American States have enacted legislation following the recent researches in Eugenics. Twelve States provide for the compulsory sterilisation of the unfit individuals. Restriction on marriages are also being enacted so as to prevent the unfit from marrying. Certificates of Health have to be produced at the time of marrying.

The dysgenic effects of our caste system have to be noted and an attempt must be made early to prevent the race suicide that is going on unchecked by close inter-breeding going on in our midst on account of the caste rules. The germ plasm which has degenerated on account of continued in-breeding would not enable us to rear a healthy and virile stock of people.

a very early age. The moral duty of refraining from producing children whom they cannot themselves support, should be inculcated. These measures would raise the standard of health in the first instance. Secondly, racial improvement might result in the long run, as the children can be given better opportunities of life that were denied to their parents.

The Quantity of Population.

It is true from the standpoint of quantity Indian population is increasing. The following table shows the rates of advance. In fifty years the total population of India has risen from 206 millions to 318 ms. showing an increase of 55% as shown in the following table.

Year.	Population.	Rate of increase.
1872	206,162,360	...
1881	253,896,330	23·2%
1891	287,314,671	13·2%
1901	294,361,056	2·5%
1911	315,156,396	7·1%
1921	318,942,480	1·2%

During the earlier part, the increase was rapid, chiefly due to the fact, that at every subsequent Census, more ground was covered and fresh territory was added to the Indian Empire by the annexation of Upper Burma in 1884. There was also a progressive increase in the accuracy of enumeration from Census to Census. If we make allowance for these factors the ratio of real increase can be seen to be very small. The following table shows it clearly.

Period.	Increase due to Inclusion of new area.	Improvement of method.	Real increase of population.	Total.	Rate of real increase.
	millions	millions	millions	millions	
1872-81	33·0	12·0	3·0	48·0	1·5
1881-91	5·7	3·5	24·3	33·5	9·6
1891-01	2·7	·2	4·1	7·0	1·4
1901-11	1·8	...	18·7	20·5	6·4
1911-21	·1	...	3·7	3·8	1·2

The recoil after 1891 was chiefly due to the prevalence of famine[1] and the visitation of plague, cholera and such other epidemics.[2] This increase in population is referred to as indicating a highly satisfactory state of affairs.[3] Increase in population is generally attributed to as a natural result of material prosperity. But economically speaking this vague phrase "increase of population" has to be amply qualified. It does not mean mere quantitative progress but an improvement in the qualitative aspect of the population in public health and increase in the duration of life.

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[1] See the Report of the Census of India, 1881, p. 457.

[2] See the Report of the Census of India, 1901, p. 84.

[3] Almost all the Western countries are desiring a steady population rather than an increasing population. Enlightened France has a decreasing population and the other countries of Europe are on the same track. W. S. T. Thompson shows that in the large industrial countries as Great Britain, the U. S. A. and Germany the poverty classes are becoming pauperised and to check this the present increase of population should be lowered. He argues for the simplification of the standard of living in these countries. See his "Study in Malthusianism," pp. 162-65.

The compiler of the 1911 Census Report points to the satisfactory increase of population as a sure sign of progress under the British rule. If we however compare our increase of population with that of other countries we find that it is not so great as theirs.[1] France is the only country of Europe which possesses a lower rate of growth of population than India. But the above conclusion is also untenable on the ground that it is a mere delusion if the quality of the present-day people is taken into account. The physical stamina of the population is rapidly deteriorating. Taking Bengal into consideration we find that its ancestors had been a martial race.[2] Some of the family names like Singh, Roy, and Chaudhuri denote their ancestry from Khsatriyas. At the present

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[1] The following table shows the fact.

Name of the Country.	1881-91.	1891-1901.	1901-11.	1911-21.	Total.
England and Wales ...	11·7	12·1	10·5	4·8	39·1
The U. S. A. ...	25·5	20·7	21·0	14·9	82·1
India ...	13·2	2·5	7·8	1·1	24·6

See also Prof. Brij-Narain, The Population of India, p. 10, where he gives another table taken from Hand Worterbuch der Staatswissenchaften, p. 689.

Those writers who attack the "White Peril" and try to refuse the menace of the "rising tide of colour" point out that the European White races have been doubled but they have greatly increased their industrial power and they have acquired the land of the non-European powers so that the White Race might be safely distributed all over this vast territory. See J. W. Bashford, "China; an Interpretation," pp. 446-448. See also Sidney Guilick, "The White Peril."

[2] The Bengali race migrated in the past to Java, and Polynesia in search of trade and adventure in the far-off fields. Some of them have left their original homes in Tirhut and Saraswati Valley of Assam and migrated to Western India. The Saraswat Brahmins allude to their Bengali origin in their daily morning Sandhya prayers. See Beames, Comparative Philology. Also refer to Bishop Heber's testimony about the valour of the Clive's army composed of Bengalis. The traveller Bernier also speaks highly of the Bengali race. See also Arabindo Ghose, "Renaissance in India," p. 10. See also "Emigration," India of Today Series,

time we find that both the town and the village population are physically decadent. As one writer says, "spinal curvatures, skew feet, unequal legs and ill-grown bones" are increasing to a large extent. Yellow and puffy faces, spoiled and irregular complexions, nervous movements, coughs and colds plainly intimate the physical decadence of the race. "The present urban population is living a life of chronic starvation, silent in their suffering, without zest in life, without comfort or enjoyment, without hope or ambition living because they were born into the world and dying because life could no longer be kept in the body." This physical decadence and unfitness is a greater cause for our national impoverishment than even the burden of economic drain which politicians and publicists make much of.

The Bogey of Overpopulation.

The theory of overpopulation has often been raised in order to explain the inability of our people to improve their standard of living or to sustain life itself.[1] Poverty and famines are usually attributed to this cause,[2] though some others as lack of foodstuffs, lack of money, want of rain, decay of manufactures, overtaxed agriculture and the politico-economic drain are also considered as contributory causes.[3] India contains one-fifth of the population of the world or the entire human race while its area is one-twentieth of the area of the world.[1] Harold Cox speaks of an overcrowded India filled with human beings.[2] The official view gives support to this line of argument and many Indian Economists consider that there is overpopulation. Sir Theodore Morison recommends birth control to prevent the ever-recurring subdivision of agricultural holdings as a remedy for the unrest in this country.[3] It is true that certain portions of this vast sub-continent like Bengal and the United Provinces are densely populated. The fertility of the soil, heavy rainfall, good irrigation, favourable land-tenure systems, development of industry and growth of commerce are responsible for this unequal distribution of population amongst the different provinces. East Bengal is crowded to a great extent but the multiple-cropping and growth of jute make it possible for these people to maintain a certain standard of living. Burma and Assam can support larger population than at present.

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[1] C. F. Masterman says, "The Malthusian theory still prevails by the operation of the law of diminishing returns in such regions as Malthus saw it working in Ireland and India, where an increasing population is confined to a definite piece of ground which cannot be tilled and furnished into productivity."—"England after the War."

[2] Harold Wright says, "the growth of population may account [for the fact that famines still occur in India, in spite of the measures which have been taken by the British Government to avert them."—"Population," p. 67.

[3] See R. C. Dutt, Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessment in India.

The credit of refuting this stock argument of overpopulation is due to the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.[4] More recently the Indian Fiscal Commission has once more refuted this view while discussing the subject of exportation of foodstuffs from India.[5] The real explanation of overpopulation comes from an inspection of the congested areas but India as a whole is not overcrowded to the extent that other countries are congested. It is an industrialised country with intensive agriculture that possesses the largest density of population. The following table shows the area of the different countries and their total population per square mile :[6]

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[1] Dr. R. K. Das says, " Seventeen per cent. of the world's population is living in 3·3 of its own area in India," " Production in India," p. 9.

[2] Overcrowded India.—In " Asia," Oct. 1922.

[3] See Sir T. Morison, Indian Unrest and its Remedies, Nineteenth Century.

[4] Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Condition of India, Correspondence with the Secretary of State of India.

[5] See the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, p. 113.

See " Is unemployment inevitable," p. 61. Report of the Unemployment Committee in the United Kingdom.

Country.	Area : sq. mile.	Population in thousands.	Population per sq. mile.
Great Britain ...	89,047	42,917	482·0
W. Europe ...	2,823,191	342,022	121·1
En. Russia ...	2,188,990	102,489	46·8
Ac. Russia ...	6,323,480	33,675	5·3
India ...	1,805,332	318,942	176·3
Japan ...	260,738	76,988	295·3
Egypt ...	12,023	12,751	1061·0
China ...	4,277,170	436,095	102·0
Canada ...	3,603,336	8,788	2·4
S. Africa ...	473,089	6,929	14·6
Australia ...	2,974,581	5,436	1·8
New Zealand ...	103,568	1,219	11·7
The U.S.A. ...	2,973,774	105,711	35·5
Brazil ...	3,275,510	30,636	9·3
Argentina ..	1,553,119	8,699	7·5
Rest of S. Africa	268,000	31,907	9·3

The last Census Report reveals to us that there is a natural increase of population in Bengal, the Punjab and Madras while there has been decrease in Bombay, the United Provinces and Behar and Orissa. The increase in the Central Provinces is only one per cent. Simplicity of living along with universality of marriage is the chief cause of the high average birth rate. As J. A. Martin says, "the modern theories incline to the view that a maximum fertility is associated with simplicity of life which usually includes a minimum subsistence diet and that fertility automatically decreases as soon as life becomes more complex, more luxurious, more individuated and more subject to nervous strain."[1] But the real idea of the overgrowth of population can be grasped if it is also understood that disease due to climate and physical conditions combined with non-hygienic customs and traditions of the people and their ignorance and indifference to maternal and child welfare lessens their resistance to disease and keeps up the level of the death rate. Hence the real increase of population in spite of a high birth rate is very small. But there is overpopulation in the sense that an Indian woman of twenty-eight becomes a grandmother, at forty a great grandmother and at fifty-six a great-great-grandmother. There is overpopulation in the sense that while the increase of population goes on without let or hindrance except by national calamities as plague, influenza, floods, etc., the increase of food supply although possible is not increasing in due proportion. Our productive area is at present too small for the actual population and the agricultural area is roughly only one-half acre to each inhabitant. It can be increased but unless that is accomplished there is pressure of population. There is overpopulation in the sense that large holdings get easily subdivided into small holdings in the course of a few generations. There is overpopulation in the sense that a high material standard of life cannot be maintained for a long time even by those who are well-educated.

Inequalities in the distribution of population in the different provinces can be toned down to a great extent if cheap facilities for transportation and a redistribution of population between the different occupations from agriculture to industry were to be effected. India would not be in a position to develop her potentialities fully if population would not increase in proportionate numbers. Strong, sturdy and skilful people within the age-limit of 15-40 are necessary if mass production of manufactures and an enlarged division of labour were to take place. Our population, specially the able-bodied people, have not come up to that limit which is necessary for an effective utilisation of mineral resources and other raw materials afforded by nature. If the age-groups as given out in the different Censuses are examined this fact will be brought out clearly. This table shows the age-groups per 1,000 population.

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[1] J. A. Martin—Lecture before the Royal Society of Arts, London.

Age groups.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
0—10	278	288	268	277	274
10—20	191	187	202	192	198
20—30	178	174	178	178	170
30—40	146	148	148	142	143
40—50	97	98	101	99	94
50—60	61	59	62	61	61
60—70	53	52	51	36	36
over 70	...	...	...	16	17

An increase in population is economically advantageous provided there is an increase of population of the right kind. In Western countries which have to import the raw materials for their industries and food-stuffs for their industrial labourers a growth of population might be undesirable but when these resources are to be had in abundance there is less cause for anxiety. Our industries have not reached their full status and there is much land to be reclaimed and improvements in agricultural methods may take place and the area devoted to food crops might increase. If the increased production is equitably distributed the pressure of population would not be felt. Prof Seligman rightly observes that the population question is not a question of mere size but of efficient production and equitable distribution.[1] Hence the problem of over-population may not be considered as a bogey incapable of any intelligent solution. India can maintain a very much larger population than at present provided the people are able to raise their standard of living to enable them to live as healthy, strong and efficient individuals.[2] If scientific agriculture were to be adopted, if our industrial resources were to be successfully worked, if a proper distribution of labour in the different occupations were to be effected, if our rich people were to live plainly, if all inefficient official employment as the unnecessary maintenance of a huge military establishment were stopped, if all unnecessary middlemen were abolished or if all overlapping in trade is avoided, if all people were to belong to the A grade population [3] and increase their physical and mental vigour and work efficiently, India would be in a position to maintain two or three times the present population and that in a more happy manner than at present.

Relying on this possibility which might or might not be realised we must not however belittle the fact that the quantitative aspect of the problem will soon present itself to us. India would have to depend on its own area and soil to feed her increasing population. England can safely increase her population because the people of England are able to live from the soil of England plus that of other countries—Canada, the United States of America, Australia and South Africa. This is possible as theirs is an expanding civilisation not a pent-up one as ours. The commercial self-support enables England to draw food from other countries and develop new markets for its products. It is also possible for it to employ migration as a relief for overpopulation. The industrial and commercial ineptitude of our country would not enable us to depend on this factor to secure food from wider areas and from different markets. Migration would not be possible in the future as even the Dominions wish to turn the Indians out of their countries. Hence the only recourse which is thrown open to us is not to overpopulate and lower the standard of living or by utilising birth control as a remedy postpone the evil day of straightened living. The strength of fecundity of our lower classes is a fact that has to be reckoned and certain remedial measures have to be undertaken to counteract and limit this factor. Even primitive races unconsciously tend to restrict fertility by abortion, infanticide and prolonged abstention from intercourse.[1] Some other causes like war, disease and migration tend to produce the same result. The best advisable and most conscious measures that we ought to adopt should attack both aspects of the population problem. It is clear that steps should be taken for conscious limitation of family and for the increase of our income to secure a decent standard of living warding off disease and ill-health. This is what the American Officials of the Philippines have done. When they have stopped head-hunting they have taken measures to improve agriculture by introducing new food plants, seed selection, irrigation, fertilisers, and other improved methods of cultivation.[2]

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[1] Principles of Economics, p. 64 (7th Edition).

[2] All highly productive tropical agricultural countries are capable of supporting large populations. Porto Rico has 300 people per sq. mile ; Cuba with only 3 per cent. of land under cultivation supports a population of 3 millions. Java supports about 33 millions. See Ely and Morehouse, " Elements of Land Economics," p. 64.

[3] Experiments have been conducted in America just to test the distribution of intelligence among the people and according to their rating A grade denotes the ability to make a superior record, B grade denotes the capacity of making the average record in the college ; C men are rarely capable of finishing high school course and the main bulk of the population below the C grade. If the country were to civilise itself it can be done by the efforts of the A and B grade men. The anthropologic constitution of men should be favourable towards development. See W. McDougall, " National Welfare and National Decay."

It can be successfully tackled by an increase in the extension of the cultivable area. An intensive system of cultivation has to be adopted, so that larger crops and a greater net return can be secured. A system of carefully arranged migration through organised Labour Exchanges to less thickly settled tracts and a proper diversification of the industrial occupations of the people and developing village crafts as a subsidiary occupation can go a great length in increasing the famine-resisting capacity of the people to a great extent. The vocational distribution of our total population is not nicely adjusted or evenly balanced. Hence a relative stability of economic life cannot result out of this maladjustment. If the comparative figures of functional distribution of population in the different avocations are studied the economic pressure on agriculture can be realised.

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[1] See A. M. Carr-Saunders, The Population Problem. Appendix—I.

[2] See The Round Table, Sep. 1924, p. 746.

Occupation.	India.	France.	The U.S.A.	England.
Production of raw materials ...	72·44	42	44	10
Preparation and supply of material substances	18·56	44	36	74
Public administration and miscellaneous	9·0	14	20	16

The principle of substitution of one crop for another when there is a glut of the first crop can be pursued so as to maintain the agricultural profits on a stable basis. For instance, if tea becomes a glut in the European markets indigo can be substituted in its place. Similarly jute may be employed in place of the rice crop in the Madras Presidency. But this sudden transference of agricultural capital from the cultivation of one crop to another is not altogether an easy matter. It presupposes a certain amount of knowledge of external markets, the method of cultivating more than one crop and above all a certain amount of capital in the agriculturists' hands. Provided these things can be attained it is not so difficult to shift agricultural capital and labour from one kind of agricultural work to another as it is in the matter of shifting specialised industrial skill and plant from one industry to another. The real and final limits to this suggested remedy are not the difficulties of technical production but the lack of capital, education and command over markets. For this reason it is unwise to expect to obtain any immediate relief minimising the pressure on agriculture and incidentally solve the problem of overpopulation.

Extension of Cultivable Areas (*Land Utilisation*).

According to the official estimate the area of "cultivable waste other than fallow" is 151 ms. acres and if irrigation is extended to these areas some more acres might be rendered fit for cultivation. The following table shows the area under cultivation in British India.

Total area sown.	1901-02.	1906 07.	1911-12.	1916.17.	1921-22.
Percentage of total (food crops total)	88%	84%	83%	83%	84%
Total area sown ...	217	246	248	263	256
Area under food crops ...	185	205	205	219	215
Area under non-food crops ...	32	41	43	44	41
Percentage of total	15%	16%	17%	17%	16

As the Government of India is contemplating an extension of its irrigation projects, there would be an increase of wealth of the people in the long run. The following table shows the irrigation projects of the Government:

Notes of the project.	Estimated Area to be added to cultivation.	Estimated Capital cost.	Estimated income to the Government.	Net addition to country's wealth.
Sukkur Barrage ...	7·5	2750	300	3750
Damodar canal ...	0·2	105	...	...
Khal (Punjab) ...	1·85	1400	570	...
Bhakra Dam ...	2·00	2175	...	...
Cauvery Reservoir	0·30	825	...	...
Kistna Dam ...	...	1275	...	...
Gokak canal ...	0·13	300	...	...
C. P. (21 projects)	0·70	...	...	...

The extension of non-food crops such as coffee and tea on promising hill slopes is also possible. The possibility of substituting industrial crops like tea, jute, coffee, and cotton can be done to a certain extent. India's monopoly of some of the non-food crops is well-known to need any detailed comment. Jute is a monopoly product of India. Indian tea is ousting the Chinese product from Europe and America. Lancashire proposes to take more of our cotton as the U. S. A. people are bent upon manufacturing their own cotton in their own mills. India is the world's largest producer of oil-seeds. The newly improved seeds in coffee ought to enable us to compete effectively with our rival —Prazil. India like England can depend on the exportation of foodstuffs from the other parts of the Empire notably Canada and Australia. If Russia were to settle early and if peaceful production once more prevails it would become the granary of the world. As Abbati says, "to-day perhaps America alone could produce sufficient to supply the whole world with food, clothing and manufactured goods.

We know that when the major part of the total able-bodied male population of Europe and America were engaged not in production but in destruction the proportion of food and clothing to say nothing of machinery and munitions was as abundant as ever. Not only were the collective requirements of man supplied in normal abundance but in addition Neptune was abundantly supplied and Mars superabundantly."[1] With increased money returns from the sale of non-food crops food-stuffs might be purchased. Such a thing as the importation of wheat from Australia was witnessed in the last few years. But this ideal of nourishing her constantly increasing population is not a desirable one as it would tend to make her dependent on foreign countries. Besides this reason there is another important one for discarding the above remedy suggested for the overpopulation problem. With each new dose of capital and labour applied to agriculture it is not possible to obtain increasing returns as in the manufacturing industries. Hence India would find it increasingly difficult to procure the needed foodstuffs for her increasing industrial population. It is quite possible that if population goes on increasing and with a reduced death rate thanks to medical and sanitary improvements of the government the point may soon be reached when the imperative demand for food-stuffs would be keen and greater manufactured produce would have to be offered and intensive industrial pursuits would tend to magnify the undesirable effects of capitalistic industrialism in our society. Again the import of foodstuffs might be cut off during war-time and it would not be possible to obtain the needed food-stuffs. It would be wise to conserve and develop agriculture even at some economic loss to the country as it would enable the country to resist the enemy's blockade during the war-time. But for the policy of developing agriculture which Germany systematically pursued she would have capitulated earlier under the pressure of the British blockade in the great war. The artificial promotion of agriculture would be a better form of insurance against the insufficiency of foodstuffs during the war than the raising of large national grain stores. Economically speaking this form of insurance might be difficult to justify but as Adam Smith has long ago pointed out "Defence is better than opulence" and though it is possible to obtain cheap food-supplies from foreign countries in normal times yet it would be a suicidal policy in the long run.[1] So every attempt should be made to develop her food-stuffs by instituting an intensive system of agriculture and increasing the area under the cultivation of the foodcrops. The productivity of land can be increased largely by scientific treatment and economic organisation. Improved agricultural methods, choice of crops, distribution of holdings, systems of tenures, development of markets, and communications are also factors in determining the amount of agricultural production no less important than the extent of land itself under cultivation. As proof of this statement the prosperity of the Punjab Canal Colonies can be cited. But this desirable consummation depends on the supply of capital, the development of cheap and efficient means of transport and an increase of skill of our agriculturists. Major Fletcher of the British Labour Party suggests the imposition of a land development tax on the big zamindars to utilise it in a State agricultural scheme involving the use of scientific manuring, instruments, and methods and reclaiming waste lands for State farms.[2] At any rate this suggestion is a good one as leading to the lessening of pressure on the existing agricultural tracts and if the present cultivators were provided with water, capital and manure they would compete successfully with the State farms thus leading to the all-round development of agricultural wealth.

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[1] See H. Abbati, The Unclaimed Wealth.

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[2] See the Recent Development of Agriculture in Germany, CD—8305—1916, p. 4.

[3] Lecture before the Mahabodhi Society " On Indian Poverty and It's Cure."

The Adoption of the Batai System.

The recently instituted system of agriculture in the Punjab deserves close study. Having irrigated a large part of the country the Government with a view to develop this area and build a non-official section of the population in close touch with agriculturists and the Government and assist the Agricultural Department in solving some problems of scientific tropical agriculture and create model farms for levelling up agricultural practice in the provinces to a high level and teach co-operative handling of agricultural produce by tenants as well as landlords and educate the landlords in the matter of partnership with the tenants, have instituted this new system of tenure. This consists in leasing out large estates to private individuals or companies or Government Departments and these have to pay half the water-rate, land revenue and the taxes and the other half has to be borne by the tenants. The lessee has to organise and control the concession estates and institute improved agricultural methods, rotation of crops and system of watering. The tenants can hire agricultural implements from the lessee landlords. The lessee landlords have also to periodically redistribute the rectangular (25 acres) areas so that the tenant gets land of good quality. The lessee has also to organise the village and make it a self-contained one possessing the usual accoutrements—of carpenter, blacksmith, potter, carriers and sweepers—spinners and weavers. The main object is to enable the tenants to escape from the clutches of the money-lender. This arrangement is beneficial to all the parties and the community stands to gain by reduced prices for the agricultural produce raised by them. At present the land is utilised for the following purposes shown in this Table.[1]

Acres.	Purpose.	Acre.	Purpose.	Acre.	Purpose.
21,000	Fodder for the army.	14,000	Horse-breeding.	2,000	Experiment in Scientific cultivation.
9,000	Cattle breeding.	3,000	Seed production.	7,000	Staple cotton-growing.

Wherever this sort of reclamation of land is possible by irrigating on a large scale this method of agricultural cultivation should be taken up.

Relief due to Industrial Production.

The number of industrial workers as given in the Government Report on the large-scale Industrial Establishments in India is as follows.

The following table shows the kinds of industrial establishments with the number of operatives working in them.

Kinds of Establishments.	Number.	Operatives (thousands).
Textiles	545	654
Mineral	226	74·6
Transport	154	189·9
Food, Drink and Tobacco ...	1,528	115·2
Chemicals and Dyes	625	41
Paper and Printing	240	42·3
Processes relating to wood and stone.	990	116·1
Hides and Skins	182	16·2
Miscellaneous	3,029	310·3
Total	7,514	1,559·9

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[1] See 'Empire Cotton Growing Review,'—C. N. French—Large-Scale Farming in the Punjab, pp. 299-308.

It must be borne in mind that it considers only larger establishments reckoned as "works." So the actual number of industrial operatives must be larger than this and it would not be an exaggeration if the total were to be reckoned at 2,600,000.[1] India is an industrial infant barely 20 years old and it is quite possible that the industrial potentialities of India might be more intensively worked than at present. The possibility of finding employment for more people in industrial occupations, such as, wool, metal manufactures, cotton, jute, oil and candle works, leather manufacture, chemical industries, sugar manufacture, transport industries, glass, cement, paper, brick and cottage industries can never be doubted and their dependents can be made more economically well-off than at present. A proper redistribution of the labour force from overcrowded agriculture to industries and the development of village crafts to mitigate the serious disadvantages resulting out of direct support by agriculture alone will enable more people to obtain the minimum necessary requirements that are indispensable for the leading of a better and more efficient life than at present. More fluidity of labour is required. A systematic internal migration from one province to another can be carefully arranged by the Labour Exchanges. Migration of labour from one occupation to another suggested previously can only be achieved as a result of vocational training which should aim to train men for those occupations where labour is scarce and where it is highly paid.

The economic advantages[2] resulting out of this redistribution of population would be to increase the productiveness of the hitherto sparsely populated tracts. The lowering of wages in the densely settled areas would be checked. The movement of the people from overcrowded agriculture to the less crowded occupations is purely a problem of education as the first one is a problem of transportation. The former is more important and will be dealt with in a later chapter on education. The limiting factors towards increased production and happiness in our community are capital, managing ability and mechanical skill. We have plenty of land and labour and the remedy lies in increasing the limiting factors. The remedy for our small capital resources is increasing thrift, for mechanical skill and managing ability, vocational education. It is a common error to suppose that overpopulation is the chief cause of our poverty. It is due to low productive capacity and productive efficiency can be obtained only by a harmonious co-operation of the abovementioned factors: land, labour, mechanical skill, capital and organising ability. It is then alone that the productivity of our people can be increased and the present huge wastage of many natural resources due to ignorance can be checked. The feverish activity of the Western people forces them to make use of all available natural resources to supplement their income and maintain their high standard of living. Their aim is always to make their standard of living an efficient one and this forces them to discover new uses for the old things or the unused things. Edible plants and animals such as oysters and frogs even are put to some use. Fruits and

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[1] According to the Industrial Census the total number of persons in 15,606 businesses in all India excluding agriculture was 1,994,314 male and 6,86,811 females.

[2] The political advantages of a forward industrial policy in India are given out by the Montford Report—" A forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for not merely to give India economic stability but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised up-to-date country

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in order to provide an outlet for her sons who are otherwise drawn exclusively to government service or to a few overstocked professions in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical purposes and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay on them," p. 267.

See also the report of the Indian Industrial Commission, pp. 290-292.

flowers can by improved knowledge of apiculture be made to yield wax and honey. But in India about one-fifth of the cattle can be considered to be a burden on land and to use the oft-quoted expression "boarderers" on vegetable resources and a tax on the productive resources of the country. The utilisation of the existing resources of the country in a new and paying manner and stopping the leaks, losses and wastes in production would not only augment the income of the people but the economic maladjustment and overemphasis on agriculture can be corrected to a great extent.

Positive Remedies.

Thus far attention has been drawn to the palliative remedies that might be undertaken to lessen the evils of the present situation in the matter of over-population that is supposed to exist in this country. The possibility of feeding more mouths by the development of agricultural improvements, utilisation of the forest resources and an increasing realisation of our industrial potentialities has been suggested. But this problem can be tackled in a direct manner. The birth rate being higher than the death rate leads to an increase of population as seen in the different reports of the Censuses. J. A. Martin prophesies that in the next decade the normal growth of population, if unchecked by any serious catastrophe, would tend to increase it by about 8% and about 25 ms. can be added to the existing 319 ms. of population.[1] The best method of solving the population problem would be to simply lower the birth rate.[2] The following table shows the birth rates in the different countries:

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[1] Lecture before the Royal Society of Arts, London.

[2] Although the statistics in the table speak of a low percentage of birthrate it should not be relied upon. It borders nearly on 50 per thousand and the discrepancy can be explained on the ground that there is an imperfect registration of birth as well as death rates.

Country.	Per 1000 Inhabitants.			
	1881-90.	1891-1900.	1901-10.	1910-20.
Germany ...	36·8	36·1	32·9	29 8
Austria ...	38	37·4	34·7	...
Hungary ...	43·9	40·5	37	...
France ...	23·9	22·1	20·6	...
Italy ...	37·7	35	32·7	...
England and Wales...	32·5	29·9	27·2	23·1
Roumania ...	41·4	40·6	39·8	46·2
European Russia ...	48·6	48·7	46·7	...
Spain ...	36·2	34·8	34·4	...
Japan ...	27·2	29·8	32	34·2
India ...	35·8	35·4	38·2	36·4

From the above table it is apparent that the birth rate in this country is not only increasing but is higher than that of all civilised countries namely Japan, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy and even Spain. The universality of marriage is often considered as the cause chiefly responsible for this high birth rate. Several of the occidental thinkers speak deprecatingly of this feature of our society. But the following points are often neglected by these thinkers. The period of child-bearing in India is shorter than in Western countries. Due to the warm climate, women become marriageable at an early age. It is no exaggeration to say that they become mothers at the comparatively early age of 14 but their period of child-bearing ends also very early and it is very rare to find

Indian mothers begetting children after 40. Of course this is injurious to the girl mothers, several dying on account of phthisis or ovarian complications or due to diseases from respiratory organs within ten years of the consummation of marriage. As Carr-Saunders observes the Mahomedans practise late marriage and fertility is higher among them rather than Hindus who practise early marriages. Hence there ought to have been a lower birth rate in this country, but both men and women ardently desire children in the supposed belief that they escape falling into "puth"—a hell into which all childless people are thrown. Again some sort of social obloquy is usually attached to childless people. Children are considered as the blessings sent by God. The rapid increase in population is also due to the low standard of living and the increasingly harsh economic exploitation of the people, to the social subjection of women and the resultant lack of education.[1] So long as these mental, physical and social characteristics and habits predominate it is not possible to lower the birth rate in this country. Another reason for the high birth rate is the "sanction of religion" which gives adequate support to the family instincts. MacDougall correctly observes that where religious and other sanctions give adequate support to the family instincts no serious diminution of fertility occurs.[2] While religion and family ideals advocate the growth of overburdened families there is no attempt on the part of the state to meet the cost of educating children or make it a partial charge on the community. In Western countries one finds maternity benefits, provision of health compensation and other forms of insurance under social control, the insistence upon rest periods and vacations for women, the allowance of income-tax exemptions in proportion to the number of children, the segregation of hereditary defectives at state expense and other acts of the State are only direct evidences of the fact that the state has undertaken the financial responsibility of rearing the overburdened families. In India however both the economists and the bureaucracy preach the Malthusian law as a corrective for the overpopulation tendency and the family is left to deal with these problems upon a laissez-faire basis.

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[1] See W. MacDougall—Social Psychology.

[2] See Miss Lydia DeVibliss, "Birth. Control—what is it ?"

"Where Providence sends mouths it sends meat" is the usual belief of the Indian population. This sort of rule of life would not help us much in the present juncture. Although there is not much of over-population and although the net increase of population is taking place slowly, it is unwise to be imprudent in the matter of our early marriages and the universality of marriages for the unfit people even. It is unwise to consider the pressure of population as becoming important in the near future. The pressure of population would soon become insistent and control the future of all classes if increased production and equitable distribution of wealth are not aimed at. Early marriage has to be combined with parental prudence as in the case of France. Population for population's sake is an unsound optimism. Nor is it wise for the philoprogenitive parents who beget a large family to depend on the bounty of the state. Limitation of the family is the only practicable method of bettering the life of our people as well as their children. This has to be practised by all sections of the society, the lower as well as the higher classes.

Without going to the extent of believing the quaint doctrine of James Mill that "limitation of the birth rate among the working classes might be carried so far as to raise the condition of the labourers to any state of comfort and enjoyment which may be desired"[1] it can be said that small families conduce to better home life, less drink and disorder among the lower classes, less poverty, less high death rate, less overcrowding, less prostitution and less misery.[1] The primary truth of the economic doctrine known as the Malthusian Law is an indisputable thing. But his remedy—the postponement of marriage until there is the ability to feed the family—is an absolutely ridiculous impossibility in the present state of our society. Such a prudential measure as the moral restraint of population as Malthus terms it, would never appeal to the uneducated masses of this country who are incapable of taking long views and who do not possess a good degree of forethought and self-control in marriage and child-bearing.

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[1] James Mill,—"Elements of Political Economy," p. 53.

The effects of a late marriage and moral restraint in a hot climate are very obvious. The scourge of prostitution, the increase of the white slave traffic in the cities, the spread of venereal diseases and infections and all sorts of sexual irregularities and vices would result. Even the Westerners are now realising the evils of late marriage in the ranks of their upper and lower grades of society. A recent writer commenting on the population pressure on social and economic problems says that " the limitation of the family is the only hope to ward off the numerous evils arising out of a large population. This limitation of offspring and the means form the greatest discovery man has ever made."[2]

Birth Control.

Birth control does not necessarily mean the decrease of population. Countries practising birth control have a higher natural increase of population than countries which do not practise birth control. The following table shows this:—

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[1] In Holland artificial prevention of conception is sanctioned by the law and doctors and nurses undertake to instruct the people in this matter and even furnish free the means of prevention. The general health of the people has increased and the death rate there is the lowest in Europe. Illegitimacy has fallen and the various forms of physical degeneracy have been removed.

[2] See J. Swinburne, Population and the Social Problem, p. 377.

——	Birth Rate.	Death Rate.	Increase.
Countries practising Birth Control.			
Australia	24	9	15
New Zealand	23	8	15
Denmark	27	12	15
Netherlands	25	12	13
Countries not practising Birth Control.			
Japan	34	22	12
India	40	30	10
Czechoslovakia	38	25	13
Chile	37	31	8

Birth control does not mean a low birth rate but a proper spacing of babies so that the physical strength of the mother is unimpaired and the economic strength of the parents would not be put to a serious strain. It means the reduction of high infantile mortality. Birth control would increase the level of the prosperity and remove the worse conditions under which children would otherwise be bred up. Birth control in this poor country means a check to illiteracy. The general level of culture would increase. A high birth rate coupled with a low wage-earning capacity of the family is forcing the parents to use their children for earning money. A high birth rate would be leading to a reduced level of trade as the people being illiterate, untrained and ill-educated would not be capable of producing much. A high birth rate means overcrowding of cities and in the big cities large families are a positive handicap and hardship. As Sidney Webb says "there is real penalisation resulting out of parenthood and straightened means result from excessive births in the family." Underfeeding would be the first result and finally all chances of good upbringing would be removed. Hence the real necessity to reduce the high birth rate is great in a poor country like India and when a rapid change in the socio-economic habits of the people cannot be brought about it would be an imperative duty to restrict births by conscious and deliberate methods of scientific birth control. Even granted that an open encouragement of this remedy is preached it is unwise to expect that there would be marked reduction in birth rate noticeable, say within a period of twenty years.

High Death Rate.

Coupled with a high birth rate we have a high death rate due to poverty, plague, malaria, influenza, and other preventable diseases, harmful marriage customs, bad dietary, insanitary conditions of living, worry and dejection. Although the old checks to population which existed prior to the British Rule namely, infanticide, enforced widowhood, internecine wars and famines have been removed, the death rate is still high due to the prevalence of diseases which according to Mr. Martin are due to physical and climatic conditions. Poverty and misery accompany the evils of high birth and death rates.[1] When there are no social and economic means of checking a high birth rate the reduction of it by proper birth control methods is the only expedient thrown open to us. The birth control propaganda has to be spread wide amongst all classes of our people.

The disastrous epidemics and the consequently high death rate are sometimes due to social circumstances and customary observances which are inimical to the maintenance of the public health.[1] Diseases have been considered in the past as the just punishments meted out by heaven and the ignorant people contented themselves by propitiating the infuriated deities instead of taking prompt measures to disinfect the water-supply and prevent the contamination of food. Instinctive credulity is strong in the minds of the masses. Their "belief in witches, magic, dragons, spooks, miracles, and second sight and such supernatural absurdities" is slowly giving way to the rapid advance of knowledge. The influence of priestcraft is being slowly undermined by the development of modern knowledge. More education would endow them with mental and intellectual activity and mould their instinctive faculties.

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[1] See Appendix VI, "Female Infanticide," Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, Part I.

Medical and sanitary measures undertaken by an efficient public health department ought to enable us to reduce the death rate to a lower figure for several of the diseases as small-pox, cholera, hookworm, and malaria are preventible.[2] But this is contingent on the fact that the people can spend more on the public health service. This seems to be impossible at the present stage of economic distress and illiteracy of the population. As in the Philippines health can be secured if money is spent on water-works, drainage, town-planning and housing schemes. Taking the English people into account there was a heavy death-rate of 154 per 1000 births in 1900 and in 1924 it was only 60. The Secretary of the National Baby Week Council of England says, "In 1900 we as a nation spent nothing out of rates and taxes for organised maternity and child-welfare work and very little out of voluntary funds. By 1922 the expenditure had almost reached £2,000,000 and the death rate of babies has fallen.

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[1] See India in 1923-24, p. 212.

[2] Mr. G. Bransby Williams, Lecture before the Rotary Club, "Public Health in India from the Economic point of view." He estimates that the loss of life and efficiency caused by preventible disease alone would amount to 200 crores of Rupees per year.

We increased our outlay and saved our life. We saved wealth also, for the measures of education and sanitation which tended to save babies from death at the same time tended to improve the health of women and to raise the standard of health of the survivors and in rearing a race of healthier citizens we are actually, it would be seen, adding to the wealth of the nation.[1] Of late the Public Health Department of our Government has been distributing pamphlets and leaflets to improve the health conditions of the cities and villages. The Baby week is tending towards the better rearing up of the children and the high rate of infantile mortality can be reduced to a lower figure. Infant marriages and early marriages have also to be given up if the death rate is to be reduced to the normal standard advocated by Prof. Taussig.[2] But the present illiteracy of the people acts as a check to the undertaking of quick action and real understanding of these measures.

Some people fancy that a high death rate and high prices go together but this is not borne out by experience. According to Dr. Mann who is an authority on the economic conditions of Bombay the dry years marked by high prices are healthier than the other years when good crops and lower prices go together. Dr. Bentley inclines to the view that there is a close relationship between the quantity, distribution of rainfall and the intensity of the infection of the diseases such as malaria and dysentery. It is the effect of climate on health that is important but in famine years the death rate is chiefly dependent on food factors.

Instead of begetting children and weakbodied people to die in large numbers and shortening life through malnutrition and the opportunities given by it to disease and starvation of individuals through poverty, the ideal of limitation of families would go a long way in reducing our misery. J. A. Thompson correctly remarks that diminished birth rate tends to substitute quality for quantity. It may make life less anxious, more secure and with greater potentialities of fineness. Associated with birth control it makes earlier marriages more feasible. This control of birth rate makes for independence of women and increase their opportunities for self-development. If the decline of birth rate proceeds more or less uniformly it will work against war and if war were still to persist a restriction of numbers will keep it from being still more terrible than now in its wastage of human life."[1]

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[1] Quoted by Dr. Pitamber Pant, "Baby Week and Child Welfare," Welfare, May 1925, p. 3.

[2] See the Principles of Economics, Vol. II, p. 231.

The Quality of Population needs Improvement.

It is not the quantitative aspect of the problem that needs urgent solution but the qualitative aspect of it demands our earnest and immediate attention. Ruskin says, "Better a few good men than a multitude of diseased rogues" and it is easy to concur with him, for a nation is to be benefited much by the quality of its population rather than its quantity. The poor quality of our population is the sole grievance and this steady regular progressive and unrestrained reduction in the national vitality and national efficiency is the basic cause of India's economic backwardness. This is the Achilles' heel which makes India vulnerable to famine and a prey to diseases. If Indian people were to improve their vital efficiency, conserve their life and lessen the death rate and increase the span of their life to a longer period, the real essentials are not only the expenditure of money on sanitary, public health and medical aid departments, improving sanitation and preventing diseases but the provision of adequate food, clothing and shelter is necessary. The quality of foodstuffs taken is not very nutritious and where there is a dearth of foodstuffs there is nothing to fall back upon. In Western countries if wheat becomes costly and a two-shilling loaf becomes the feature they fall back upon potatoes and other dietary articles. Their high standard of living during normal times leaves a margin to fall back upon and keep the wolf from the door. The prolonged semi-starvation for the past years and generations has reduced the physical quality and vitality of our masses.[1] An anthropometrical survey has to be undertaken by the British Government so that the detrimental changes bringing about physical deterioration can be noticed and arrested immediately. This survey should include the height, weight, colour of the skin and hair, the state of teeth, jaws, and the length, breadth of the bead, sight and hearing and a muscle test for measuring the strength of the grip. All men between the ages 15 and 50 would have to be examined but for arriving at a general conclusion an examination of 5% of the population is sufficient to provide the necessary data.

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[1] See the Control of Life, Ch. VII. See also the Evidence of J. M. Robertson and W. L. George before the National British Rate Commission, The United Kingdom, pp. 10 and 414.

See Dr. Broughton, "Maternity and Infant Welfare Work in India," Journal of Economics, Allahabad, July, 1924, p. 20.

A rise in the standard of living maintained by increased wages would enable the people to rectify this to a certain extent. The drink evil has attracted much attention[2] and the Excise Committee of the Bombay Government has recommended the total extirpation of the evil.[3] It would take a long time however before we can hope to make India dry by legislative enactments. But it is only with the help of a sound physical condition of the body endowed with superior mental faculties than at present that we can hope to bring about an improvement in the quality of the people.

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[1] See Dr. J. T. Sunderland, Article on Famines, The Asiatic Review.

[2] See Dr. J. Matthai's pamphlet, "Excise and Liquor Control." He recommends total prohibition and in order to enforce it large expenditure would have to be incurred to make good the loss of revenue and cover the cost of supervision he proposes to levy a super-tax on land revenue at a percentage varying from year to year to be assessed on landholders paying revenue of 50 and over at graduated rates and a provincial surcharge on income-tax of about 20.

[3] As this is mainly a question of revenue to the Government it has recommended that its place should be taken up by the following taxes. A succession duty to yield 50.

It is not only essential that the deterioration in the quality of the population be checked but a superior stock of people should be raised. John Stuart Mill advocates a stationary standard " so that numbers neither increase nor decrease as an increase of people under strained economic conditions would only lead to a deterioration in the quality of the people. As a recent writer says, " the wise ambition for a people is to maintain its life at a higher physical level rather than to increase the number of its members at the expense of degrading its life below an accepted standard of life. The fact that a people increase but slowly in numbers may be an evidence not of degeneracy but of enlightenment and prudence.[1]

The desideratum at present in India is to produce the most capable men, physically, mentally and morally and this can be done by following the biologist's advice which recommends cross-breeding between more superior strains of men and the less superior ones. Prof. MacDougall however is of opinion that in breeding within each superior strain of the population would by itself cope with the problem of national salvation. The lesson that India has to learn is to give restriction of intercastal marriages and extend the marriage zone so that the present anthropological decline of the population might not only be averted but a better and

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lakhs; increase of local cess fund (30 lakhs), a totalisator fund (20 lakhs), taxation on futures (50 lakhs), a tobacco tax to yield 5 lakhs, Employee tax (40 lakhs), Transit tax (50 lakhs), Terminal tax (50 lakhs). But all these authorities are mistaken in the view that there would be a total loss of revenue from the beginning. The loss of revenue would be gradual and can be adjusted in course of time. If people totally abstain from drinking there would be improved health, resulting in increased production and indirectly enrich the treasury. The present official view that education, etc., would suffer if excise revenue falls has to be seriously condemned.

[1] See E. C. Hayes, Introduction to Sociology, p. 44.

efficient grade of population might result."[1] It is not cheap numerosity but the improvement of the race that is the real problem facing the Indian society.

The Position of Women needs Improvement.

A change in the social status of women would have a profound influence in retarding or diminishing the birth rate. Bertrand Russell says that the Malthusian Law of population is held in check by the civilised half of the population in America and Western Europe on account of the following reasons. An increasing number of women desire to have no children or only one or two in order that they might not be hampered in their own concerns. There is an excess of women and a large number of them are unmarried. Owing to the desire to give a good start to their children they aspire to have one or only two children.[2]

J. S. Mill was the first economist to grasp the truth that "if women cease to be confined by custom to our physical function as their means of living and the source of influence they would have for the first time an equal voice with men in what concerns that function and of all improvements in reserve for mankind which it is now possible to foresee none might be expected to be so fertile as this in almost every kind of moral and social benefit." Prof. Urwick endorses this statement and remarks that "this reform would practically create a new force for social regeneration which would attempt to solve the problem of high birth rate and high death rate and raise the standard of life at the same time. A thinking woman cannot at the same time act the part of a constant child-bearer."[1]

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[1] Prof. MacDougall attributes our political inferiority to the British race solely to the defective character and lack of will-power. If the present political domination of the British people is to be put an end to we must not rest content merely by becoming their intellectual equals but develop the better grade population possessing character and will-power.

[2] See Bertrand Russell, Principles of Social Reconstruction.

While in the western countries there is an excess of females over males and while due to industrial accidents the death rate among men is high we have in India a high death rate among females. The females are in excess of males and owing to early marriages and hard work there is a heavy mortality of the females. If our women take to intellectual activities or other suitable avocations there would be a decline in the birth rate. Women can take up the educational line and undertake the Montessorian system of teaching. If we take the Parsis in our midst we find that their average higher education and the high standard of living they possess are tending to the creation of strong and able children. But a carrying out of this suggestion would mean a complete social revolution and can result out of the intelligent and awakened conscience of the community as a whole. No alien government with an ardent desire to procure the economic uplift of the race can however dare to alter the present marriage and family laws which have been followed during several ages.[2] A feminist movement must arise in this country not necessarily to compete with men in political or intellectual and hand work but to enable them to become intelligent complements to men making them a complete whole.[3] The legislature of the country has to help the alien government and educate public opinion and the masses as regards the desirability of evolving a better social life. As early marriages have been only recently adopted by the Hindus it would not be difficult to check this tendency. As Miss Lydia de Vibliss says, "in Ancient Aryan India the average marriage was around 18 or 19. From 320 B. C. to 800 A. D. due to invasions and a desire to protect girls earlier marriages at 15 or 16 became established. With the Muhammadan influence the life of the Hindu women became more secluded. About 1900 the average marrying age was around puberty. With the revival of the nationalist movement in 1905 there came a tendency to check this early marriage age and the tendency is to raise it still further."[1]

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[1] See E. J. Urwick, A Philosophy of Social Progress, p. 48.

[2] A recent instance of co-operation can be cited. The age of consent act was passed by the Legislative Assembly quite recently. Similarly other acts regarding our social evils as child marriages can be passed.

[3] The National Council of Women in India would be started in the coming year. It must be in a position to suggest interesting lines of action in the matter of education, treatment of married women in industry, and the position of woman labour in factories. Our women have to follow the example of the Turkish women who are paying equal attention to the education of girls as that of boys and are establishing their claims of equality in political matters as voting and holding office and social matters as marriage and divorce. They are seeking to improve their economic status by working in carpet and silk industries. They are putting to better use their money instead of hanging it in the shape of necklaces of big gold five-guinea pieces. There is a good deal of waste of female labour in this country. Social customs do not allow the forsaking of the purdah and although domestic work is

Emigration as a Sociological Safety-valve.

It has been suggested that there should be a better and more equal or equitable distribution of world resources not only in India but in all other countries where the problem of excessive population is the chief evil. Along with Plato[2] and other writers on the problem of population economists hold the opinion that emigration can be considered as a cure if not a practical alleviation of the distress arising out of the pressure of population but as Prof. Keynes has shown us it is only an "expensive palliative." Still all nations consider it as a relief to congestion, hard conditions of home land and as the only remedy for averting national decay. If faced with such an alternative nations would rather die fighting for the

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accomplished by them we do not find a large class of women workers. Except in the case of the lower class of people women workers are rare in the other section of the people. Protection to this hard-worked class is necessary and permission for women of other sections to work should be secured. This would mitigate the poverty of the middle class sections of the society.

[1] See "Birth Control, What is it?" p. 84.

[2] See Plato, "Laws," V. 740.

right to live rather than consent to slowly decline as a result of congestion of population. The closing of the western gates to the Asiatic races is sure to intensify the problem of surplus population in these countries and these countries are already considering this attitude as a challenge to them. England would have been in a similar plight if the Overseas Dominions had closed their gates against her people. The right to go abroad is a thing that ought not to be denied to the Asiatic races. It is as important as autonomy at home. In vain do socialists argue that "the whole world belongs to the entire humanity and that its potential resources are not the exclusive property of particular communities." It is easy to remark in an angry tone "that the British Empire will be wrecked on the rocks of the inter-Empire relations upon the question of real equality of the imperial citizenship." Emigration to Africa, Australia and South America can be suggested as a remedy against the hunger problem created by excessive population.[1] To refuse access to the labourers of an alien race is to "commit a crime against humanity." They appeal to the international mind so that a wider view of human relationships may be conceived by them. But the real obstacles to the realisation of this international mind are the consciousness of intense nationalism springing from the

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[1] The following table from the year book of the International Agricultural Institute of Rome shows the unequal distribution of the population in the world.

CONTINENT.	Population at date nearest to 1921 in ms.	Number of inhabitant per sq. kilometer,
Europe	453·22	45
Asia	1005·7	24·5
North and Central America ...	144·8	6·5
South America	67·6	3·6
Africa	140·8	4·9
Oceana	8·5	1·0

inborn sense of community, of blood, speech and tradition. "The so-called immigration policy of restricting the coloured races by the white and superior races" is often depicted as the result of World Eugenics applied to races as a whole. The white race tends to segregate the inferior stock from diluting and supplanting good stocks. The superior races are self-limiting than others and with the benefits of more space and nourishment will tend to still higher levels.[1] Thus all the white races refuse to admit the coloured races on the ground that they are unassimilable and can never enrich their social and intellectual make-up. It is considered more as an economic question than as a political one. Though this has been the ostensible reason put forward it is difficult to believe it for they admit the Latin and Slav white races of Eastern Europe whose cultural outfit is in no way superior to the Hindu, Chinese and Japanese races. Their primitive ignorance, midwifery, agricultural superstition and high birth rate are patent facts. This element the white races wish to wash and scrape and chisel and polish and assimilate them into their own nationhood. It is the colour bar and skin prejudice that is responsible for this differentiation.[2] Even Burma is attempting to stop Indian emigration and recently a bill known as the Sea Passengers Bill has been passed. Though the return amounts to only Rs. 15 lakhs the main object is to check Indian-emigration. Although Burma has 2,33,707 sq. miles of territory and has only 57 people per sq. mile and although the industrial needs of Burma require the Indian coolies and labouring population, the Burma Legislature has unwisely passed this measure tending not only to the creation of bad blood but it has taken a step against the real welfare of Burma itself.[1]

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[1] See S. Hall, Journal of Heredity, March, 1919. See also T. N. Carver, The Annals, XL, March, 1912, Country-life, 21-25. He gives out the correct solution as lying in rationalising the high standard and levelling up the lower standard to the higher one rather than refuse to receive labourers who possess a low standard of living.

[2] See Benoy Kumar Sarkar, The Futurism of Young Asia: "The 350,000 acres controlled by the Japanese in California are the best cultivated and most highly productive in the States compared with what they were previous to Japanese occupation. As market gardeners and fruit growers none can compete with them. The Japanese think they are being discriminated against for their virtues rather than vices.

Although every wise man like Lessing, Kant, Goethe, Rousseau, Lavater, Condorcet, Priestley, Gibbon and Franklin is a citizen of the world[2] the economic nationalism that dictates the economic foreign policy of capitalistic states renders nugatory any tendency or bias towards international policy. As Grunzel says, "international relations are not regulated in accordance with the ideal of the human race but according to the evils of the nations concerned." Their anxiety to retain the Eastern markets is the sole actuating motive of white Imperialism. Peter the Great of Russia stated long ago as follows, " Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and that he who can exclusively control it is the master of Europe and the world. "The object of this selfish attitude of the western nations is to provide scope for the financial magnates to perform the selfish task of exploitation of the country. Production for profit carried on for many years has given scope for the creation of huge capital which seeks outlet in foreign lands and preserve them as their exclusive field or spheres of interest. Capitalism is clever enough to mask its narrow and selfish economic motives under the guise of the loftiest professions of idealism namely " the extension the boundaries of civilisation, of the bringing of Christ's gospel to the heathen, the teaching of the dignity of labour to untutored savages and the bearing of the white man's burden." But really speaking the ambition is to obtain exclusive sway over the tropical products as vegetable and mineral oils, cotton, rubber, metals, foodstuffs and other raw materials and to work them with cheap labour.[1] This exclusively selfish policy is the basis of economic imperialism.

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[1] See the Speeches of Sir A. Ritchie and Mr. Wroughton in the B. L. Council.

[2] See J. A. Hobson, Imperialism, p. 6.

So long as the nations like individuals are ardent in the worship of the Golden Calf they would consider international alliance in the Platonic sense of "watery friendship." The federation of Mankind is a noble dream. As Kant has long ago said "a law of nations cannot be founded except by a co-operation or federation of the free states." This spirit of humanism and internationalism has not been infused into the mind of any nation as yet. This would not be secured except by "a co-operative economic federation of free states signifying freedom of trade and intercourse."[1]

While the selfish attitude of the eastern nations needs strong condemnation, it must not blind us to such an extent as not to realise the defects of our own emigration policy. The Latin races of the world are free from the colour prejudice and some of the South American States and the French Colonies would heartily welcome our agriculturists and unskilled labourers. Municipal as well as political franchise are granted to immigrant settlers here.[2] The Government of India proposes to improve the conditions of Indian settlers in British Guiana and Fiji. While this attitude of welcome and encouragement are desirable things the inherent, unwise and foolish tendency of sending males alone as immigrants should be checked. Males as well as females should go in right proportion. Families should emigrate in place of the existing individuals and each block of emigration horde should possess all the skilled labourers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, artisans, and the traders necessary to make the community self-sufficient.[3] This work has to be done systematically by the government department[1] which controls emigration or by a well-organised society like the Bengal Social Service League. We ought to have in our mind the model of the Greek colonies. Each and every colony was self-sufficient and it was a diminutive Hellas in the barbarian country. The advantages of migrating in hordes or blocks of families are that ignorance, unfamiliarity, inertia, the dangers and difficulties of a distant land can be overcome easily. Migrating alone means leaving home, relations, friends, language and habits and unless there is a big attraction elsewhere this does not take place on a wide scale. Even if we take the case of Great Britain we find that State-aided emigration is encouraged under the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 and this is solely meant as a safety-valve to escape from the pressure of overpopulation. Although the best of the English people emigrate, still the dominions have mounted guard and accept only those who wish to permanently settle on land. Hence Prof. Keynes and in his wake a whole school of economists, have been encouraging the reduction of the birth rate especially among the poorer classes of labourers. The development of the resources of the Empire is suggested by the Imperialists as an alternative solution.[2] Both labour and capital have to be sent to the Colonial Governments or to private colonising enterprises but nationalism is developing so fast in the economically developed countries that they tend to welcome only agriculturists who migrate to solve the problem of their undeveloped agriculture. These Dominions as well as other countries refuse to supply raw materials to the mother country as before but aspire to build up their own industries. As the economic solidarity of the world and international division of labour will be no more than mere sentimental expressions in the near future there is great danger to Great Britain brought about by her excessive industrialisation and if her population goes on increasing it is inevitable that the standard of living must be reduced. This is the *raison d'etre* which makes the British economists absolute free traders. Every barrier erected in the shape of a tariff, every trade route blocked by hostile nations and every trade outlet destroyed by war or rivalry means a menace to her high standard of living.

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[1] See Norman Angell, "If Britain is to live," p. 126; see also Dr. Scott Nearing, "Next Step," p. 22. See also H. Lambert, "Pax Britannica."

[2] See "Emigration" by Emigrant—India of Today Series.

[3] Looking at the 1921 Census report of Assam we find that about 150,000 Mahomedan agriculturists of the Mymensingh District settled there permanently with their families.

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[1] Our Government ought to have a migration department pursuing a wise land policy and settle all the willing labourers to develop the areas. They should also be provided with credit and other requirements for agriculture. Most of the Western States of U. S. A. have this thing in common, *i.e.*, a systematic rural planning policy and the immigration department is in charge of this work.

[2] See L. S. Amery, Empire Development and Empire Settlement, Empire Review, March, April, May Issues, 1923. See also Sir E. Geddes, General Introduction to the Resources of the Empire Series, published by the British Federation of Industries.

The population problem needs many lines of attack. Palliative and preventive remedies would attack the quantitative aspect of the problem. Improvements in health, food, clothing and shelter would solve the qualitative aspect of the problem. Inventions, discoveries, opening up of extensive sources of foreign demand for Indian products thereby leading to greater industrial activity, improvements in the technique of marketing, growth of capital and growing independence of women have a profound influence on the population question. Any realisation of the above factors would enable us to nourish our manhood and make India available for larger number of people boasting at least treble their present wealth.

Economic progress might result out of an increase of population as it leads to a proportionate increase of production. This might be in exact proportion to the increase of population. But as the possibilities of this are very limited in India it would be better to aim at a stationary population and a steady progress resulting out of improvements in the methods of production. The annual increase of population is already related on a previous page. While this percentage of growth goes on actually taking place unless hindered by exceptional calamities the increase of economy is limited, production goes on actually taking place much on the same old lines and the amount of work turned out by each person is the same as before. There might be improvements here and there and in rare individual cases but there is no uniform improvement all along the line Hence the definite increase in our economic progress though great in the quantitative sense does not bear any satisfactory and definite percentage to the growth of population on the other hand. Taking the growth of real capital in our community we do not find it increasing in proportion to the increase of population on the other side. This does not mean that the growth of real capital should be equivalent to the cost of the bearing and rearing of the children who constitute the increase of population. It ought to be greater than this. It means also the equipping of transport, machinery and factories for the satisfaction of their needs. Hence the real capital should always increase at least in due proportion to the increase of population on the other side. Unless this is rendered possible there is no economic progress in the national or social economy.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

POEMS

I—NOVEMBER DAYS

Oh, the soft and mellow sunsets !
Oh, the filmy, purple haze !—
That o'er hangs the brilliant forests,
In these rare November days.

All the world seems dreaming, dreaming,
Of a past of sunny bliss ;
Of a golden, vanished Summer—
Of the languor of her kiss !

Down the leaves are falling, falling,
Like brown sparrows from the trees ;
And the wan and fading roses
Shudder in the evening breeze.

There's a touch of hopeless sadness,
In the hazy afterglow,
That's reflected in my bosom—
In my blood's slow purling flow.

And I shudder with the roses,
In the chill November breath ;
For the hectic glow of Autumn,
Makes me think of awful Death !

II—A MOONLIGHT DRIVE

Oh, for a long, long drive tonight !—
The air is crisp, the air is light,
As the foam on a champagne cup.
Straight to Olympus we would go,
Over a road of silver I trow,
And there with the gods we would sup.

Oh, for a desert-bred Arab steed !—
Away, away with the wind to speed—

How the blood in our veins would leap!
Our lives would flow a Runic rhyme,
Could we but tether Father Time—
Or put him forever to sleep!

What is better than blooded steed,
What more joyous than lightning speed,
On a silver November night?
Who more blest with love than we?
Why, we would very angels be—
Were we only in wings bedight!

Sing ho, sing ho, for moonlight nights;—
When there no one near who wites,
But only the stars' tender eyes.
With lips you love against your face,
While arms you love your neck embrace—
What were need of a Paradise?

Unless in Heaven there is a moon,
A sweet maid, like a rose in June,
With tender lips, and arms, and eyes,—
I'd rather cut out Paradise,
And take the pain with joy and mirth,
And stick to dear, old Mother Earth!

III—THE WEAVER

One sat at a loom in far Kashan,
And he wore with infinite care,
A wondrous rug, of wondrous design,
To be used by someone at prayer—
But the worker never would know
Where the rug that he loved would go.

And the Weaver saw not the pattern,
And saw not the work as he wrought;
The design lay in his Soul's ideals,
And was by experience bought.

He gave his best though never to know
Whither his toil and dreams would go.

When the Muezzin's voice would call,
From the minaret tower afar,
The Weaver would kneel and face the East,
And intone, "*La allah ilah*"!
Then back to his loom he would go,
To toil for one he did not know.

But, ah, he loved the colours so soft,
And he loved the wondrous design;
He wrought his work with tenderest care,
As though for the Prophet's own shrine!
But where his love and work would go,
He did not care, he did not know.

One sat at a loom in far Kashan,
And he thought of a woman fair—
Whom in his youth he had borne away,
And with roses twined her dark hair—
Where she had gone he did not know,
Love-dreams into his work must go!

"A soft rose thread for love I will weave,
The grey will for memory stand;
The blue for eyes I have kissed and loved,
And the white for a jasmine hand...
Black for sorrows all men must know—
Into the rug all feelings go!"

The Weaver sang at his loom and wrought—
And oh, the design grew more fair!
And he wove the shadings in and out,
Only heeding the far call for prayer;
For the work perfected must go
From his hands, where he did not know.

TERESA STRICKLAN

JAPANESE AMERICAN RELATIONS[1]

(From an American view-point).

Without attempting to outline the history of the universe, I may be permitted to begin this lecture by reminding you of the historical background against which the question of Japanese-American relations must be viewed if it is to be seen in its proper perspective.

This subject takes our thoughts to Asia, largest and most populous of the earth's great divisions. Asia has been the source of tradition, romance and world movements. In Asia, so far as our knowledge goes, the human life of our planet first appeared. From Asia have come all the chief religions of race. The reactions between Asia and the Western hemisphere make a bully portion of our known history.

When little Japan conquered big Russia in the opening decade of the present century, it was not the first time that Asiatic arms had beaten down the arms of Europe. Invasions of Europe by hordes from the steppes of Central Asia began as early as the fourth century, and the Huns, the Magyars the Finns, the Bulgars, and other hardy peoples mark the results of these irruptions. The Mahommedan hosts from Arabia overran North Africa and South Europe to the very Strait of Gibraltar in the eighth century. And later came the Mongols and Chenghiz Khan.

But it has not been only by military force that Asia has influenced the Western world. China and Korea had the art of printing with moveable types before ever Gutenberg introduced that practice into Europe. From China came the invention of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and the ceramic arts. From Western Asia came our algebra, geometry, and astronomy. If it is true, as Mr. Wells has said, that "the Asiatics are as bold, as vigorous, as generous, as self-sacrificing, and as capable of strong collective action as Europeans", then from Asia we may look for yet larger contributions to the world's progress.

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[1] A summary of a speech delivered by Bishop Welch in New York City.

Out of Asia came the stories which excited the imagination of medieval times and lead to travel and cupidity. Alexander had already penetrated far into the east, the Roman cohorts had tramped their way over its plains, and the Crusadors had been seeking the holy Sepulchre across the soil of Syria. Then toward the end of the thirteenth century the Venetian Marco Polo accompanied by some Italian priests, made his way to China at the request of the Emperor of that land. His stories set curiosity on fire. The East with its kings and jewels, its ivories and the silks, its pomp and splendor, seemed to become the goal not only of travellers but of those who desired commercial gain. Some have thought that it was while looking for Japan, and not primarily for India, that Christpher Columbus set out on his voyage toward the Far East, as he fondly believed. He never even saw the sea which washed the shores of the countries of which he had dreamed, but he was followed by men who did pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific-Balboa, Cortex, Pizarro, and the rest, until Magellan reached the Philipines, only to die there, and Drake circumnavigated the globe. In this fashion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, the English, the Russians, and the Germans were making their way into Southern and Eastern Asia, Siberia was absorbed by Russia through the eighteenth century, India became part of the British Empire by the nineteenth century. Now has come the period of the modern political, commercial, and religious movements of the West toward the East; and the natural resources and the vast populations of Asia have made it irresistibly attractive to the adventurous spirits of all nations.

Of the races of this great historic continent, the yellow race is at once the most numerous, the most progressive, and the most potential. The immediate future of mankind rests with the white race, which constitutes nearly half of the world's population, and with the yellow race, which numbers about one-third of the world's population; and these two races have as their center of contact the Pacific basin.

Here is a critical and significant situation, foreseen, at least deemly, by the more penetrative minds of earlier days. It is nearly three-quarters of a century since one of our greatest Secretaries of State, William H. Seward, said, "The Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter;" and that "the world's great hereafter" is already at hand is witnessed by the words of more recent students. Said Roosevelt, "The Mediterranean era died with the discovery of America; the Atlantic era has reached the height of its development; the Pacific era, destined to be the greatest of all, is just at its dawn." Passing over the utterances of Mr. Lloyd George and President Harding, I quote the words of one who as a student of world affairs will rank with any one of those whom I have mentioned—General Jan Smuts of South Africa, who observes, "Undoubtedly the scene has shifted away from Europe to the Far East and the Pacific. The problems of the Pacific are to my mind the world problems of the next fifty years or more."

Facing this dramatic hour, let us remind ourselves that during the last half-century there has been a special relation between the United States of America, the leading nation of the white race and of the West, on the one side, and Japan, the leading nation of the yellow race and of the Orient, on the other. This has been partly the outcome of geography. The terms "Near East" and "Far East" were coined from the standpoint of London. What is "Far East" to England is "Near East" to America. If neighbourhood creates obligation, there is an unbreakable bond connecting these two peoples separated only by the Pacific.

We are bound to the Orient by strong and growing commercial ties. Our trade with the Japanese Empire is larger than with China, India and the Straits Settlement combined. Our cotton, iron, steel, timber, oil are imported in great quantities; more than a quarter of all Japan purchases from other countries goes to her from America. From her in turn we receive silk, pottery and tea with many other minor products; we buy every two-fifths of all that she ships abroad, and of her principal export, raw silk, this country takes 95%. In eight years the portion of Japan's total foreign trade which came from or went to America, rose from 23% to 37%. True, only about 8% of our foreign trade is with Japan, but there are, after all, few countries which are more important to the United States from the commercial viewpoint than the Sunrise Kingdom. As it has recently been summed up: "The trade between this country and Japan has been a large and thriving one. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, we sold to Japan $213,000,000 worth of goods and bought from her $372,500,000 worth. France, Germany, Great Britain and Canada were the only countries that bought more from us, and Great Britain, Canada and Cuba were the only countries from which we bought more. Exports to Japan were 82 p.c. as great as our exports to all of South America.

In industrial development the Orient follows the Occident. Buyers of our machinery, diligent students of our methods, the industrial leaders of the East, where they have not themselves been trained in the United States, look to the progressive (though often in their thought materialistic) republic of the West for guidance.

The English language comes nearer in the Far East to being an international tongue than any other. In Japan it is taught (with the exception of the Chinese ideographs, so fundamental to all the literatures of Eastern Asia) as the first and foremost foreign language of the schools above primary grade. The reading of English is therefore common, the speaking less so. The total result is both the translation and the reading in the original of great numbers of American as well as English books and magazines. The educational ideas, at least, are deriving from some of the same classical founts from which we have drawn our inspiration.

In music, law, medicine, and perhaps pure science, the East leaned more heavily upon Europe than upon America, although in applied science, in surgery, and in dentistry, the United States has been taken as a model. But the lines of travel, sport and social custom (the latter being modified through these multiplied contacts) lead more directly to our shores. Education in all these lands is deeply indebted to American ideals, though Germany has had a share in determiing educational organization and method. The school system of Japan was planned by an American missionary; and the presence, continually in our colleges, universities, and technical schools, of hundreds of Japanese students bears eloquent testimony to the esteem in which our teachers and institutions are held.

The political constitution of Japan was shaped after careful study of many lands, and is a composite document influenced by European as well as American ideals, all of them adapted to Asiatic conditions. But if not an imitator of our republican and federal form of government, she is a careful observer and ready to align herself in national policies with the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

When it comes to Christian missions in the East, it is a simple matter of fact that America stands first, France, England, Ireland, Canada, Australia, Scotland, Denmark, and others are making their contributions, but the largest force laboring for the Christianization of the Orient and thus touching the life of these nations where it is deepest, comes from our own country.

The special historical relation of the United States to the Orient has already been touched upon. It is true that while the Spanish, English, Dutch, and French were sailing and contending in Pacific waters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, America had not yet arrived. But as soon as our national life had really begun, the first American vessel reached China in 1784. The Oriental trade of New England in the days which followed was of interest and importance, although it presently dropped for half a century, until the dawn of our new era of expansion.

We were the nation to open Japan to Western intercourse in modern times. Such action had earlier been contemplated and urged (for example, by John Quincy Adams in 1816),—but finally in 1853, Commodore Perry, bearing his message from President Fillmore, somewhat peremptorily, it may be, began the negotiations which forced open certain Japanese ports to Western commerce.

But the point I am making does not refer to the chronology of contact so much as to the fact that the treatment of the Oriental nations by America has been, on the whole, somewhat different from that of other Western countries. Some Americans, indeed, including Perry and Seward, favored an aggressive policy, or at least a policy of extension, such as found expression in the raising of the Amarican flag over Formosa in the '50s, and later came to the surface in the taking of the Philippines. But in general the American policy was one of co-operation with European powers so far as that was consistent with building up strong Asiatic states. That is, it was not a policy of nationalistic isolation, and *it made the welfare of the countries with which it was dealing a prime object in its transactions.* This general attitude naturally has produced a favorable reaction. China in earlier centuries had extended a warm welcome to foreigners, but through unhappy experiences she had grown suspicious. She found foreigners mixing in her politics, trying to control her trade and dominate her domestic affairs. Then came the Opium Wars, the British and French attacks on Peking, and the securing by military force of the opening of ports and foreign residential privileges. The Chinese began to think that these Westerners were in truth "foreign devils" come to destroy their native rights.

But, happily, one of the early American Ministers to China, Anson Burlingame, gained the confidence of the Chinese by his integrity and foresight to such a degree that he actually headed a mission to foreign countries to win for China more favorable treatment. In 1868 our own Government by treaty with China "disavowed any right to interfere with its eminent domain or sovereign jurisdiction over its subjects and property." We have never had in China a "sphere of influence." When England, Japan, France, Russia, and for a time Germany were seeking and setting off sections of the country which they might develop and to some extent control, America stood to one side. When indemnities were demanded and obtained because of the desruction of foreign life and property by the Boxers, America led the way in returning large part of the amount received that it might be used for the education of Chinese youth.

Similarly in Japan, Perry came with warships, but he came also with tact and was able to achieve his object by no force other than moral suasion; so that he has come to be regarded by the Japanese as a national benefactor. When in the next decade the warships of our own and European nations had without justification bombarded the port of Shimonoseki and exacted a large indemmity from Japan, our people at least had the grace to be ashamed and after twenty years returned the money to Japan, who accepted the gift "as a strong manifestation of that spirit of justice and equity which has always animated the United States in its relations with Japan." Our nation was the first to agree to the relinquishment of extra-territorial rights; and since then, under Roosevelt, followed by Root, Lansing and Hughes, the spirit manifested toward the Sunrise Kingdom has been one not merely of justice but of positive friendship.

When contentions have arisen between the peoples of Eastern Asia, the United States has tried to be the friend of all. We were thanked by both China and Japan for our good offices during their war in the nineties. I wish I could believe, literally and without qualification, that the words of James Brown Scott were true—"The policy of this Government has invariably been one of sympathetic interest in and toward the Far East, and it has never sought to make of the needs and distresses of Japan and China a source of profit." But at least it may be claimed without fear of contradiction, that our conduct has been relatively fair, humane and generous. We are in no position to play the Pharisee and thank God that we are not as other nations! We have shown some imperialistic tendencies; we have made our mistakes. Yet that which we have succeeded in doing in friendliness provides the most admirable foundation for sympathetic and helpful relations in the future.

And it is not too much to say that there has been felt toward this country an unusual respect, based on its recognized power and wealth and advancement in the practical arts, as well as upon that belief in its idealism which has somewhat replaced the notion that Uncle Sam is completely commercialized in his ambitions; that there has been general confidence in the righteousness of our national aims; and that there has been a degree of personal liking and affection which has been inspired by the best types of our citizenry living in the Orient.

In tracing these points of contact and lines of influence I am not thinking of pride but of opportunity; not of complacency but of obligation.

"O, East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet;"

and there most of us usually stop. But you will remember the lines that follow:

"But there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

And here you have two strong men facing each other, the yellow men and the white men, strong men both brought together through these hurrying centuries in the providence of God, and facing each other now across the Pacific Ocean, to be either friends and partners in the promotion of the world's peace and progress, or foes whose conflict would shake the globe.

Attention has been called to the fact that Asia, with which we are dealing, is the largest and most populous of the continents. It is decidedly the largest—so large that Europe and Africa thrown together do not equal it; the single continent of Asia contains about thirty per cent. of the land surface of the globe. It also houses more people than all the others put together; that is to say, it is so populous that it contains more than one-half of the entire human race. Therefore Asia is not only large, but relatively crowded. There are smaller countries elsewhere, to be sure more densely populated, but there is no country so large as some of the Asiatic countries which is called upon to provide for such masses of people as are there contained.

Now, taking into account the fact that the other five continents are already practically under the control of white races and are largely closed against the Asiatics, it would seem that under those conditions "Asia for the Asiatics" is a motto which all would consider reasonable; but history does not so indicate. Western nations have so far taken the control of Asia itself out of the hands of the Asiatics that it has actually come to pass that less than one-seventh of the land area of the earth is under the political control of Asiatic peoples, although these constitute more than one-half of the earth's inhabitants.

That situation gives rise to such utterances as this (I quote the words of a somewhat cynical newspaper of Japan, and yet the caustic quality of its speech is not hard to account for) : "The so-called Anglo-Saxon domination of the world is being steadily carried into effect. All the sweet juice of the world is about to be sucked by them. Will God make them really happy?" And some of the facts of Asiatic history have been such as to lead even so sweet a spirit as Mr. Gandhi to use words as bitter as these : "The British Empire is based upon organized exploitation of physically weaker races and upon a continuous exhibition of brute force."

The general attitude of the West in the Far East has certainly indicated a purpose not merely to open new lands to commerce, but to dominate and to appropriate. This is aptly illustrated by the spheres of influence in China. The sphere of influence is primarily a commercial fact. It means that a certain section of China is set apart, by more or less common consent, to be exploited in matters of trade and development by a certain foreign nation to the exclusion of other nations and often to the limitation of the efforts of the Chinese themselves. Russia has had a sphere of influence in China equal to two-thirds of the entire area of the United States. England has had a sphere of influence somewhat less, and Japan still less; although perhaps the existence of a Japanese sphere of influence has been made most prominent for certain purposes before the thought of the world. I am not reckoning this sphere of influence as entirely out of Chinese control; Chinese sovereignty remains in name and to some extent in fact. But can we wonder at a certain antagonistic attitude on the part of the Chinese while Western nations, and Japan working with them, have apportioned out so large a part of China that the fraction not covered by "sphere of influence" was limited approximately to the province around Peking? Moreover, China has been dotted with foreign post-offices, foreign courts of justice, and foreign concessions, until the Chinese have been shut out of much of the administration of their own country. Doubtless there were reasons for this which to the foreigners of an earlier day seemed imperative; and some of the impositions of foreign authority have been removed as a result of the Washington Conference. But the spirit of overlordship has not yet been wholly overcome. If the peoples of Asia have any spirit of national pride, any sense of human rights, they cannot endure such treatment without resenting it.

Japan learned a generation ago to resist this tendency of the West to dominate the East. Unhappily Japan had to learn, and she learned from the very beginning, that the only way in which such dispositions could be resisted at that time was by armed power; and Japan was compelled by the pressure of Western military civilization to equip herself in military strength. She was thus able to assert her rights as an Oriental nation even against the white race, and Japan, by force of that self-assertion, has become the leader of the East, notwithstanding the inroads of the West. She obtained relief from extra-territoriality and from the restrictions which the Western nations were imposing on her customs regulations, as they are even yet imposing on those of China. She came to be reckoned among the great powers of the world; and, to our shame be it said, she was recognized as a great power only after she had fought her way to the front. Before that, the Westerner's regard for the Japanese was such as is felt toward a somewhat precocious child. They were sometimes petted, and in a rather condescending way approved; but when we found out that their country had the ability to be a self-asserting nation, we began to mistrust and even to antagonize them.

Suffer a little repetition that the situation may be clearly before our minds. The modern era of world affairs began with the close of the fifteenth century. At that time, as Mr. Basil Matthews has vividly depicted in his interesting little book *The Clash of Coloru,* the white man hammed in by races of other colors and faiths, and occupied only Western and Central Europe. Then came the discovery of America by Columbus and the finding of the Cape of Good Hope route to India, and at once began that territorial expansion of the white race which continued for four centuries. North America, Southern Asia, the Pacific Islands, Australia and New Zealand, and finally Africa were brought under his control ; until to-day of the 53,000,000 square miles of the earth's land surface, 47,000,000 are under governments of white men—nearly nine-tenths of the earth ruled by half its population.

These voyages and explorations led to the development of mathematics and physics, and gave intellectual stimulus to the adventuring nations, bringing about by successive steps new inventions, the introduction of machinery, the industrial revolution, and a quickened increase of population and of wealth.

But when Japan, adopting the British navy and the German army as its models, fought the Bear of the North to a standstill—just four centuries after the epochal discovery of Columbus—the era of white expansion which had promised to extend still further, came to an end, and a new era of resistance and self-assertion on the part of the various coloured races now began.

In this world situation of surpassing interest and importance the United States of America should display the most modern international mind. Thinking of the field particularly in our view, the truly international mind should cause us to have an intelligent sympathy with Japan's problems and perplexities and progress. It involves a spirit of brotherhood which crosses racial and national lines, a spirit which America seemed to have in a very high degree in some of our earlier days. I was reminded of this in an interview with a group of Japanese gentlemen, the leader of which was one whose name is not unknown in this country—Viscount Shibusawa—sometimes called "the grand old man of Japan," or "the Pierpont Morgan of Japan." He was telling his experiences in international affairs after the rather rude opening of Japan to modern life under the leadership of Commodore Perry. He like many another Japanese, was prejudiced against this foreign inrush and was standing for things distinctively Oriental until, coming into close contact with America and Americans, he was so impressed by the understanding and good-will displayed that he became enthusiastically pro-American, and in that way his heart was opened to the whole Western world. When he told me that, I thought of the words a well-known Japanese banker had spoken in my hearing a few days before. This man was among those who had travelled in America and had become whole-hearted admirers of that land. He told how he and many of his friends had felt so cordially towards the Western republic that on their return to Japan they were subjected to criticism and even ridicule because of their admiration for America ; but he said, "Such was our mind. But within the last few years," he said ;—and shrugged his shoulders. I knew what he meant. Has a new spirit entered our beloved country ? Was our old friendliness for other peoples only the outcome of self-content or ignorance ? Was our land so vast and self-contained, was our home market so ample that, with a few exceptions, we cared little for foreign commerce ; and merely because we were not competitors of others could afford to tolerate them, and even allow ourselves the luxury of liking and helping them ? Were the ideals of national unselfishness which we proclaimed simply the result of national isolation, the easy virtue of a bystander who watches the struggles of others with an impartial eye because they do not touch his own interests ? But now, when we are eager for foreign markets and almost against our will have come inevitably and actively into the arena of the world's strife, are our ideals to fade ? Are we to become "little Americans" trying to shrink back into the shell which we have outgrown, calling everything " foreign " which is not American, and disclaiming responsibility for it all ? No, no, we must have the international mind. " Above all nations is humanity." America first, but not America last or America only ! " Localism," it has well been said, "is the beginning of all social cohesion ; but it cannot be regarded as the American ideal, first because it is not peculiarly American, and, second because it is not peculiarly ideal ! "

True ! genuine Americanism is big Americanism. With all the affection which springs from gratitude to our own land, with all the love which grows from intimate knowledge, with all the hope which arises from the possession of American power and American ideals, the real one-hundred per cent. American is more than an American, he is a citizen of the world ; he is an internationalist. He is a man and nothing which concerns man is alien to him ! He can rise above national and racial intolerance into the purer air of human brotherhood.

Our greatest Americans, from Washington to Wilson, have held that the same relations should prevail between states as between individual citizens, that just as between gentlemen courtesy, patience, comprehension, unselfishness are due, so between nations. The law of God, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is not only personal but national ; and questions like immigration and the tariff are not to be settled on the basis of national selfishness if they are to be settled rightly.

I grant that this is not a common view. Examples to the contrary may be picked almost at random. For instance the Commissioner-General of Immigration was applauded when he declared, as reported, that "immigration laws were no longer to be designed for the benefit of the immigrant, but in their making the thought would be "America first;" and we know what that generally means. A popular periodical asserts, "Our immigration laws should be written in America by Americans and for Americans. To-day we are the only nation in the world that does not discriminate—that does not place the good of its own country and its own nationals above that of any other." I quote the proclamation of certain organization in California: "the solution reached (on immigration) should be determined by the effect it may have upon American citizenship, *regardless of its effect upon other nations or peoples*." I submit that that is heathenism and not Christianity; it is barbarism and not Americanism! The American ideal is essentially the Christian ideal, and this not only falls short of the Christian standard, but it is not true to the American standard. Until we recognize frankly and fully the law of Christ as binding in our public acts, we have nothing but a will-of-the-wisp to guide us and our pathway will lead into swamps.

The question as to the spirit and method with which the white race is to meet this crisis is, on the whole, probably the most important and most difficult question which the world faces to-day. To solve it as satisfactorily as our fathers solved the questions of their day, is one of the high tasks of statesmanship. Certainly the United States of America should assume no attitude of narrow nationalism, or of race pride, prejudice, and antagonism, but should stand frankly and firmly on the platform on international good-will and mutual racial respect. It is only in this atmosphere and spirit that the problem of our relations with the Orient can be wisely settled.

Two vital questions, and only two, are at issue between Japan and the United States. The first concerns the relations of the two countries to China, Japan's nearest great neighbour, allied to her by racial, philosophic, and economic ties, upon whose food supplies, raw materials, and markets Japan is so dependent. What are American intentions with regard to China? While we on this side of the Pacific have sometimes, under the dubious leadership of the Kaiser, spoken of "the yellow peril," the nations of Eastern Asia, with more apparent cause, have sometimes talked of "the white peril." Having stepped out into the Pacific as far as Kawaii, Guam, the Philippines, we have no thought of further political advances which would land us on the continent of Asia. We Americans are heartily convinced that our spirit and aims are thoroughly non-imperialistic, that no nation can truly complain of American aggression; our only trouble is that the peoples to the west and the south of us do not seem to be quite so sure of this as we ourselves are! They have watched at least with acute interest the occupations of this continent—the spread to Texas, the Pacific Coast, Alaska, and our extension to Kawaii and the Philippines. They have noted somewhat carefully, if not apprehensively, our dealings with Hayti and Porto Rico and Panama, and in general, the republics of Central and South America. They have read books like Professor Powers' "America among the Nations," with its uncomfortable if not disturbing conclusion. They may grant our sincerity in all that we say; their only doubt is as to whether our national policies always have matched and always will match our words. They listen while we proclaim that the Philippines are ours "Not to subjugate but to emancipate, not to rule in the power of might but to take to that distant people the principles of liberty, of freedom, of conscience, and of opportunity which are enjoyed by the people of the United States." These are noble words. But everybody will remember that included in this "freedom of opportunity is the right of self-government, and that while our statesmen have made encouraging declarations and our Congress has passed a resolution of promise, the decisive word always "Not yet!" I am not impugning our Philippine policy; I am simply pointing out that it is quite easy for those who do not know the American mind from within not to be so enthusiastically convinced of our political virtue and unselfishness as we ourselves are!

So with other matters of national procedure in the Orient. I have assured Japanese gentlemen that all the United States wanted in the Far East was the political security of China and Siberia and the commercial advantages of a genuinely "open door." Our history in the Far East on the whole bears out this interpretation, as Mr. Tyler Dennett has shown. American policy may not have been one of pure philosophy and altruism, but it has represented an honest endeavour to co-operate with other nations and an honest desire for the welfare and progress of the native peoples, coupled with an equally honest search for equal opportunities with all other nations, especially for commercial opportunity. Yet there has been suspicion in the Orient of the ulterior purposes of America, suspicion happily diminished if not wholly removed by the statesmanlike Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, which marked nothing less than a turning-point in international dealings. The words of President Harding struck a keynote for a new and divine song of peace;

> "The United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate nor apprehend no conquest; content with what we have, we ask nothing that is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone; we wish to sit with you at the table of international understanding and good will."

If this spirit can be steadily embodied in our official policies, the relative interests of Japan and America in China will not be difficult of adjustment.

The other question, more intricate and thorny, may roughly be denominated the question of immigration, although it must cover not only the matter of the admission of aliens but their treatment after they are admitted. Fundamental to the whole problem is the question of naturalization. Supplementing our early law providing for the naturalization of "free white persons," in 1870, we extended the privilege to those of "African nativity and descent," and that was at first presumed to include men of other colors. Even after the law of 1882 refusing naturalization to Chinese, other Asiatics were naturalized, until in 1906 a new regulation forbade the Government officials to receive applications from any except whites and blacks. Still there was variety of interpretation. It is not until recently that the courts have finally determined that the word white must be taken as synonymous with Caucasian; and now members of the races of Eastern, Southern and Central Asia can acquire American citizenship only by being born on American soil.

On this ineligibility to naturalization are based the laws which have occasioned recent controversy—the anti-alien land laws of the Pacific Coast States and the "Japanese Exclusion Clause" of our latest immigration bill. When it is remembered that Japanese labor came into our country at the call of the farms and the railroads of the extreme west, and that when the increase in numbers gave concern the difficulty was met by a diplomatic understanding—the "Gentlemen's Agreement"—which seemed to have satisfied the demands of the situation, it is not to be wondered at that the legislation of last Spring has caused surprise, grief, and resentment to mingle in the Japanese mind. This is the more natural when we recall that this is but one in a series of incidents which have shown an increased rigidity on the part of the United States of America and some of the British Dominions in restricting or forbidding immigration, and even (in the extreme forms) proposing to deprive of American citizenship those born on American soil if the parents are not themselves eligible to citizenship.

I will not discuss the way in which the Johnson Immigration Bill was passed, or the forces operating beneath the surface to secure the enactment of the "Japanese Exclusion Clause" of that Bill, or the spirit and motives of its proponents. Suffice it to say that the discrimination of that Act against the people of Japan and the discourtesy of Congress in disregarding the existence of the Gentlemen's Agreement by which our Government was obligated, have been most unfortunate in their effects. American commercial and missionary interests have been injured, the liberal party in Japan has been set back, the racial consciousness of Asia has been quickened and solidified, and new and ominous political alignments are now in process which are, at least in part, the result of that short-sighted policy. In a word, a totally needless and ill-advised piece of legislation has seriously disturbed the traditionally amicable relations between the two great nations which ought to be closest friends.

I am not blind to the difficulty of our whole immigration question, with its complicated social and economic factors. But (while it is always easier for an outsider to settle a problem than for those who are face to face with it in daily contracts) I am willing personally to stand on this platform:

(1) I believe for the present at least in the close restriction of immigration. While America should still "spell opportunity," and our old traditions of offering an asylum to the oppressed of every land should not be forgotten or despised, we must guard carefully our own national heritage. Self-preservation, while not the first law of nature in importance, has yet a legitimate place in individual and national life. To make the United States of the largest possible service to the rest of mankind, we ought to maintain our standards—economic, social, educational, moral, religious. An unrestrained flood of immigration would tend to sweep these away and thus

injure all. For the world's sake as well as our own, we do well to keep up the barriers at a reasonable height and admit only such immigrants as we can assimilate.[1]

(2) These restrictions ought to apply to all foreign nations alike. Discrimination is an offence against international comity. It produces humiliation and irritation, which interferes with mutual good-will. Speaking particularly of the Asiatic nations, what they ask is not liberty to send large numbers of people to our shores but simply equal treatment with the nations of Europe, Australia, Africa. They resent the apparent implication of our present treatment, that their nationals are inferior to those coming from other countries. We could not wish that this should be otherwise. We should think less of them if they did not have this decent self-respect, this proper national pride. It is true that even the more backward peoples of Southern and Eastern Europe have a social background much more like our own than the Orientals; but judged by the tests of industry, thrift, obedience to law, desire for education, readiness to adopt American ways, there appears no reason why the Orientals may not fairly be assimilated into our national life. A door equally open toward all nations, fair treatment for every man not on the basis of race or color but on the basis of individual worth, should be our watchward.

(3) With all due recognition of the obstinacy and complexity of the problems involved, I believe an effort should be made by the Federal Government to bring about a wiser and more scientific distribution and location of immigrants who have been admitted. The most awkward question regarding these foreign populations with which we are called upon to deal is the presence in large undigested masses of aliens or recently naturalized citizens who preserve a foreign

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[1] By *assimilation* I do not mean to imply racial mixture by intermarriage, reducing all the bright national hues to a mongrelized grayness; but merely that process of making genuine American citizens which is referred to more specifically under (4).

atmosphere and it may be foreign language like some German and Scandinavian rural communities in the Middle West, the Japanese in California, the Mexicans in the Southwest, the Jews in several large cities of the East. If these groups could by any device be scattered so that the component parts might be placed where they are most needed and where they could be most quickly absorbed into the common life, the worst of our troubles in this matter would disappear.

(4) I believe in admission to citizenship of no alien (and perhaps this ought to be extended also to the native-born) without training and testing in the language, history, and ideals of the American people. There should be a system of registration and supervision, supplemented by a thorough education in "Americanism", before any foreign-born resident should have the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship. He should be freed from allegiance to any foreign power and give adequate evidence of loyalty, intelligence, and morality, before receiving the right to participate in the government of this country.

(5) Under these conditions I believe that all foreigners who are admitted to permanent residence within our borders should be eligible to citizenship. None should be made citizens unless individually qualified; none should be barred because of anything but individual defects. To protest against the presence in our land of alien groups or *blocs*, yet at the same time to make it impossible for these groups to become really American in feeling and activity, outstanding illustration—are capable of becoming loyal and useful American citizens has been demonstrated by the attitude of Japanese children born here and by the record made by Japanese in this country during the Great War, as well as by the situation in Hawaii. To hold out citizenship as a goal, yet firmly to insist upon the qualifications laid down for its attainment, surely this is at once to conciliate, to encourage, and to include those who as permanent aliens might be a danger to our institutions.

Whatever one's opinions on the details of such a platform, all can agree that no immigration policy is really settled until it is at once American, scientific, and Christian. The American spirit of fair play and of equality of opportunity for all must have a fuller right of way before our relations with Japan and with all other nations can be regarded as really satisfactory. The Christian ideal of international and interracial respect, good-will, co-operation, and helpfulness must be enthroned in our political life.

This calls for a genuine humility. However striking the present supremacy of the white race may be in the world's politics and finances, that leadership is of comparatively recent origin. We have been reminded that at the beginning of the Christian era travellers from the old and highly-developed civilizations of Egypt, India, China might have discovered our ancestors roaming the forests clad in the skins of wild beasts and offering human sacrifices. Our day has now arrived. But it too will pass unless we fulfil the promise of our destiny, and with the spirit of humility and brotherhood take a place of sincere service to humanity at large.

HERBERT WELCH

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III

BIOGRAPHY

(2)

Biography and autobiography have many forms. Some of those that might be listed are :

Rhetorical, anecdotal, letters, memoirs, encyclopedias, essays combining biography and criticism, meditations, diaries, minutes, confessions, reminiscences and the form that is chronological, being an exact account of the events in a man's life.

One example of each will suffice for a brief illustration.

In the rhetorical category, there is the classic Plutarch's *Lives* ; in the second group we find Boswell's *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* ; in the third Cross's *George Eliot,* a biography in which the author adopted the plan, then unique, of letting the subject, *i e.,* George Eliot, speak for herself through letters chronologically arranged; in the fourth, we have *Memoirs of the Marquise de Saint-Simon,* or the *Memoirs* of Leon Daudet already made familiar to the reader ; in the fifth, the works of Diderot ; in the sixth, Macaulay's *Milton, Addison,* or *Warren Hastings,* each a typical example of the critical biographical essay ; in the seventh, the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius ; in the eighth Pepys' *Diary* ; in the ninth, John Selden's *Table Talk* ; in the tenth the *Confessions* of Jean Jacques Rousseau; in the eleventh *Through Thirty Years* by W. T. Stead ; and, lastly, *The Life of Sir William Osler* by Harvey Cushing.

The biography and the autobiography, however, need not be confined to a single form. There are a great many examples where an author has combined one method with another ; or has combined three methods or more. The choice lies entirely within the discrimination of the author for whom form is, after all, a matter of taste.

One autobiographer, in a mood of recollection, will write his memoirs. Another, in a semi-penitential mood, will prefer the purging form of the confessional. Another, more literal-minded, will recount the events of his life in the order in which they have occurred with the addition of little extrinsic matter. Another will choose the historical type because he is given to rhetoric—but few of these are to be found to-day. Still another is an encyclopedist because of his information giving mind. Another, socially inclined, will choose the form of minutes, as John Selden chose in *Table Talk*, a form wherein an author may speak of the habits of not only one individual but may reveal the life-stories and customs of many. The expositionist will, of course, choose the essay.

For the author's choice there are as many reasons as there are drops of water in the sea. The reasons dictating choice in the field of biography are particularly multiple. The novelist and the dramatist work within more or less fixed limits. Imaginative literature-dealing as it does with events simulating those that happen in life—must come within the bounds of possibility in most cases. Not so, however, with the biographer because he is dealing with an actual tale of human life and there is no limit to what may happen to human beings. The adage, "truth is stranger than fiction," here, indeed, gives the advantage to the biographer. The one restriction is that he must remain within the realm of truth. The motive of the biographer, as of the epic poet, must be not truth of description, but truth of life. When he relaxes his vigilance and strays from truth he comes upon the borderland of that field of literature known as biographical fiction, later to be described.

Not many years ago, autobiographers wrote stories of their lives much for the reasons that they would make their wills in *mortis causa.* With the feeling that death was perhaps imminent, a man—and he need not be a literary man—would sit down to write for the world the mass of the memories he had accumulated, giving them forth like a veteran who refers to [the parts he has played in combats. But death has not been the only stalking foe to drive a man to the pastime of intimate self-revelation. Many persons have found that memoir-writing and the giving of one's memories to the public are ample precautions against a quickly waning public interest the attempt being made through the medium of autobiography to stave off the rainy day of oblivion, whose winds may already have been felt. These precautionary writers are legion, but the public taste has become more discerning through the appearance of so many biographies upon the market and it is no longer enough for an individual to record in writing the events that chase with visionary sweep across the retina of memory's eye. The sweep must be accompanied with a certain clever display of pyrotechnic, and certainly if the autobiography is to have any life at all its events must satisfy a public curiosity or be of sufficient merit to attract a public interest.

The situation is a little different with biography. It takes two to make a biography, the author and his subject. Whatever the will of the biographer, his subject, though apparently voiceless, will have something to say. The events of his life, and the manner in which he met his trials will speak for themselves inevitably and he, the fortunate subject of a biography, will be spared the vanity associated with the telling of one's own story. "Now that I am dead, judge me," that is the refrain ever running through the usual biographer. Pride of an author in his subject's achievements is pardonable. Biographies, therefore, are written less for purposes of an utilitarian character than for reasons of merit.

Carlyle said, "Biography is by nature the most universally profitable, universally pleasant of all things," and he was right. It is universally profitable because most of us are enriched through the experiences and achievements of others, and it is pleasurable, for, who lives without curiosity?

Biography, however, is not only the story of another man's life. It is more than that. One writer asserts that in some instances it "approaches the sphere of philosophy; in others, that of history; while in the majority it assumes, to a large extent, the character of analytic or descriptive criticism...everything depends on the prodigiousness of the biographer. The great points he must keep perpetually in view are the personality and characteristics of his subject. If these are buried under a load of digressions, dissertations, his book, however valuable and interesting, ceases to be a biography except in name. Modern biography is full of elucidations, criticisms and disquisitions"

A man who writes, "Modern biography is full of elucidations, criticisms and disquisitions," probably has little respect for modern biography. It is biography for him in name only. But it is precisely this chit-chat that has created the modern interest in biography and has given it its present rising significance as a separate and important branch of literature. The disquisitions, to be sure, must be useful and pleasant; the elucidations instructive; the criticisms just. But without these? A biography is simply a life-story. If one refers to literary merit, it is perhaps another matter. But even the question of literary merit is a matter of taste.

Style, of course, is a very important consideration in biography. Yet we know as little regarding style to-day as we did many years ago, and the qualities that constitute style are as vague as the reasons for the endurance of certain books and the ignominy to which others attain.

Lafcadio Hearn says in *Life and Literature,* "The work of many clumsy people will be found to have a general family resemblance. The work of the truly energetic and painstaking will differ prodigiously. The greater the earnestness and labor, the more pronounced the style." He goes on to say, "And now you will see what I am coming to: that style is the outcome of character developed through hard work. Style is nothing more than that in any country."

Style is not a characteristic of literature predetermined at the time an author sits down to his task, but is the result of his total effort. It is only when a reader discovers a certain similarity of result in the works of many men, or the many works of one man, that these are said to possess a certain style. What is meant usually is manner.

Illustrating this point is the anecdote of Robert Laurent, the sculptor. He works with great swiftness and can carve a piece of wood into any desired object while a patron waits in the studio. One day a friend arrived at the moment when a great chunk of particularly fine wood was being delivered. The friend asked the sculptor curiously, "What are you going to do with that wood?" Unhesitatingly Laurent answered, "I haven't an idea. I shall see, what its shape suggests."

Material was the first consideration—after that, design. So is style the result of treatment.

The pastor who has been quoted so often has something interesting to say on the subject, too. For him, style partakes not only of effective force and treatment but partakes of a moral quality, also. He says (referring to sermons), "Style is partly a moral quality—a resolve to portray what one feels so that one's hearers feel it, an abnegation of slovenly and slipshod diction, a refusal to clutter up sentences with phrases which do not stand for actualities, a passion for the exact and comely word—and it is partly a gift of the imagination, bestowed in varying measures, sometimes dulled and sometimes enhanced by culture."

This definition dovetails well the feeling Hearn has had so persistently on the subject of style, but Hearn neglects to mention imagination. Greater and lesser flights of imagination do characterize an author's work, and these are not the result of the hewing process. The erudite pastor referred to the blunt John Robinson, a Pilgrim pastor of Leyden, who said, "As a woman overcuriously trimmed is to be suspected, so is a speech," then he said for himself, "The sense of unaffected reality may be ironed out of a sermon. Let a man have the feel of the people before him as he sits at his desk, and then let him write speakingly, go over his work only to excise repititions and substitute a more telling word and render entirely plain what may be obscure. But if he writes it speakingly he must remember to keep seeing whereof he writes and put it down so that others, too, will see it."

Subject and style go hand in hand. The one is the body and the other—perhaps not the soul, but the care and conscientious effort with which the body is dressed. In earlier biographies more care was given to subject, and less to adornment. To-day the situation is reversed and elucidation, and disquisition, when well done, stand high in public favour.

ANATOLE FRANCE HIMSELF

(BY JACQUES BROUSSON *)

It is in the abjuration of the unnecessary word that the author of *Anatole France Himself* stands forth in the front ranks of contemporary biographers. Throughout this very remarkable work of twentieth century literature one feels the whittling process, and marvels. Brousson's work defies anything that might be said by way of description.

The author of this biography had as difficult a task as a writer ever had. He was secretary to Anatole France for many years and unquestionably had volumes of material stored in memory upon which he might have drawn. There must have been moments when seemingly asleep to the purpose that was later to descend upon him—busy with assigned tasks—he was awake subconsciously, co-ordinating and assembling the details that were to be used later in the biography. Yet from this mass of detail he has given with unerring fidelity and impeccable, wax impression of Anatole France, with no unnecessary line. The reader is given at first hand the epigrams that amused France's friends; here is the touch of irony that crept so many times into France's words, here, there, and throughout the book the fervour of France's genius, and not a word too many.

For Brousson, as for all of us, France was a great, scintillating personality, a man whose mental and literary capacities were like the many facets of a jewel of the very finest water, and this is what France would become for the reader of this book though he may not have heard the name of France before. Brousson had the instinct for right selection which Samuel Butler characterized immortality: "I fancy that there is some truth in the view which is being putforth nowadays, that it is our less conscious thoughts and our less conscious actions which mainly mould our lives and the lives of those who spring from us." So well did Brousson's subconscious self observe that his book is a treasure trove of reminiscence and so well in his record did he omit the superfluous and unnecessary that only treasure is to be observed.

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* *Anatole France Himself*, Lippincott & Co., *Philadelphia, Pa.*

Brousson's biography combines two forms, the reminiscent and the anecdotal. He has combined them with an art rarely equalled, and so little did he think of *meüm* and so much of *tuum* that he has acquitted himself as few writers can. By the very repression of himself throughout his work, he stands forth powerfully, the author of an illuminating, colourful record.

Opening the book, we turn to the passage about Anatole France and religion. Does the author tell us that France believed so-and-so, or worshipped here, or there? Not such a dull method is his. He gives us the following:

(France speaking) " In all the world the unhappiest creature is man. It is said: 'Man is the lord of creation.' Man is the lord of suffering, my friend. There is no clearer proof of the non-existence of God than life."

We hear Brousson answering:

"But you are among the envied of this world. Every one envies your genius, your health, your youth."

Anatole France does not like this. Quickly he retorts:

" Enough, enough! Ah, if you could read in my soul, you would be terrified."

Then, writes Brousson, " He takes my hands in his, and his are trembling and feverish. He looks me in the eyes. His are full of tears. His face is haggard. He sighs: 'There is not in all the universe a creature more unhappy than I. People think me happy. I have never been happy for one day, not for a single hour'."

* * * *

How did France regard Corneille? Brousson tells us with the same delightful self-effacement as before. He tells us in the words of France himself, a method he uses throughout.

"Beware," said France, "of bombast after the manner of Corneille. Leave the sublime to the teachers...The house rocks from stalls to gallery in an epidemic of Corneillian epilepsy. The swaying chandelier joins in the applause with its crystal festoons. It is more than a triumph...A play which was applauded at every line and every hemistitch would keep the spectators struck all night in their stalls. When you go in for delirium, who knows where it will end? On Mount Pindus, or in the lunatic asylum? It is the same thing with the novel. More often than not a strained style indicates an absurd situation. Nothing is easier to spin than a bit of bravura. But you must sew it on to the action. It is like a purple mantle that must be botched with rags. When I began to write, I tormented myself to reach the sublime. Now I flee from it."

Of course, the public wishes to know of France's friends. Were they faithful? What was his attitude towards them? This, too, Brousson tells us, but he does so now not only in the words of France but in the words of *Madame* as well.

Madame is speaking:

"Friends? You have friends? Not one. You have habits. To penetrate into the inner circle of your life, perseverance and leisure is all that is necessary. No matter who, sufficiently careful and punctual to call on you every morning at the same time, will penetrate into your heart and establish himself there. The first few days you will think him a nuisance and a bore. But by dint of thinking him stupid you will end by being interested in him. You will tell me endless stories about him. You will laugh at him, and that is your highest form of friendship. At the end of a month he will be indispensable to you. When he is not there, you will be in a vile temper. But if he goes on strike for a week, oh, then, by-bye all hope lost! When he comes back you won't know him. You will even have forgotten his name. His place will be taken by someone else, equally indifferent to you, but more punctual. Friendship with you is punctuality."

"Why not say, a fad?"

"That's the word. A fad, absolutely."

"You are the most clear-sighted of my friends, and the most charming."

* * * *

"I am like Renant," France explains. "The author of the *Vie de Jesus* scribbled whatever it might be and sent it to the printer. The proofs came back. He corrected them once, twice, thrice. At the fifth time, it began to be like Renan. In my case it is the sixth and often the seventh time. I insist on as many as eight proofs. What can I do? I have no imagination, but I am not without patience. My most valuable working tools are the paste pot and the scissors.

"You look surprised, my young friend. Yes, I am stripping myself bare before you. No doubt you imagined that an angel whispered whole pages and chapters to me at a single breath. I have rarely felt the gust of inspiration. My pen has no lyric powers. It does not leap, but goes plodding along its way. Nor have I ever felt the intoxication of work. I write with difficulty. When someone says to me, give us a hundred or a hundred and fifty lines, I inquire definitely, 'Do you want a hundred, or do you want a hundred and fifty? It is not at all the same thing.' I am like a child given a pœna to do."

* * * *

Brousson gives us a picture of him at his desk.

"First of all he writes no matter what, on no matter what odds and ends of paper, in his tall, aggressive, puckered-up hand. The scrap and the scrawl go straight off to the printer.

"The slip comes back from the press. Have you ever watched drawings in a studio being corrected? With a touch here and there the Master gives form to the student's sketch until, suddenly, the poor botch springs into blazing life. So it is with Anatole France. On the first proof, he accentuates.

"Example of accentuation. He has copied this phrase direct, without changing a word, from a biographical dictionary: 'The lady Theroulde was rich and of good fame.'

"He reads over the phrase that he has borrowed from some common place historian and turns it into ridicule:

"It's as flat and insipid as a pancake."

"But you will see: we shall trim the good lady to the taste of the day." And he writes:

"Since the lady Theroulde was rich, men said she was of good fame."

"He is delighted with the arabasque he has made. I point out to him that he is defaming the poor woman. 'Good fame is worth more than cloth of gold. Can we be sure that it was only for her money that men spoke well of Theroulde?' He shrugs his shoulders.

"I would take my oath on it. Money has great virtue, my friend. In all ages, the Middle Ages as well as our age, it is the supreme virtue. Besides which, you are needlessly energetic in Madame Theroulde's defence. To-day she is but dust, while my words are throbbing with life."

"Fresh proofs, fresh corrections. This time is the turn for 'weeding,' to use his picturesque expression The dog-grass that has sprung up must be torn out: the "which's," "who's," and "whose's" and "whereofs."

"They give the best style a crick in the neck,' he says. 'Banish, too, the semicolon,...It was perfect for the days of complimentary speeches, long discourses, and funeral orations. It gave repose to the flowing period. But we live in the day of the pneumatic and the telephone. Whenever you can shorten a sentence, do. And one always can. The best sentence. The shortest.

'Beware of finely spacious and melodious phrases. First they gently rock you, then send you to sleep. As for transitions, don't give a fig for them. The best way of concealing from the reader your passage from one thing to another is to take it in a quick jump, without boggling.'... 'Respect the word. Cut up the sentence. Bring the scissors into play. The scissors ! Ah, who could rightly celebrate their usefulness to literature ? The perfect writer is always represented with a goose-quill between his fingers. That is his weapon, his heraldic arms. Now I should like to be painted wielding my scissors, like a dressmaker.'

"So saying, Anatole France takes a bundle of proofs, the first chapter of his *Joan of Arc*. With the aid of huge, archaic scissors he cuts up each sentence. The scissors clip round the single words. He looks like a needlewoman cutting out an embroidered festoon.

"Oh, Master ! You are turning the Maid into a maze !"

"Patience ! She will come to life again. This exercise is salutary, even for the soul. It is a great lesson of humility. In the fire of composition—though my fire burns so low it will hardly keep the pot boiling in the fire of composition, I say, you give way to Pindaric spasms. Your tongue lingers over your paragraph like a sweet. You gargle with your sentences. You end by bewitching yourself. Your enthusiasm for your own copy dazzles you. You cease to distinguish the true from the false and simplicity from bombast. But the scissors work in the cold light of the dissecting room. They out cut all that is adventitious and preserve only the healthy flesh. The operation is cruel, but indispensable."

"The father of *Thais* takes each sentence, one by one, as if he were playing a game of patience, mates it with another taken at random, divorces it again and looks for a different union. Thirty times he rebuilds his paragraph. At last he cries : 'Victory ! The last sentences are now the first !"

Another scene, selected at random, will conclude the few that are taken to exemplify the book. This will give, more than any other, the form of the anecdote :

Luncheon at Madame's

"No guests. We arrive at half past one. 'We had given up hopes of you,' she says. 'I thought you were still presiding at some subversive meeting,' says Monsieur. 'Still, revolutionaries must lunch like everyone else. Indeed, they have bigger appetites.'

"We sit down. The *hors-d'oeuvre* appear, tasteless.

"*Monsieur*: 'I read your article in the *Action*. You write in the *Action* now? You have given up *Humanité*? Why? I understand! You are out of love with Humanité because it has no more money. Poor Humanité! I didn't understand a word in your article this morning.'

"*France*: 'I am not surprised. It was not for you that I wrote it.'

"*Monsieur*: 'Of course! I'm too stupid, aren't I, to understand your masterpieces! Look here now. If you think someone a mere clod, you can't lunch with him every day for twenty years.'

"*France*: 'Just what I have said to myself every day for twenty years.'

"Madame throws herself between them to prevent a clash. She reprimads both sides.

"*Madame*: 'Now no politics, I beg. Spare me your political squabbles. Keep them for the smoking-room. Remember that ladies are present.'

"*France*: 'I will take care, Madame, not to forget it.' (He bends, interrupts swallowing, wipes his lips and moustaches with a napkin and kisses Madame's hand).

"The entree follows, tasteless, like the *hors-d'oeuvre.*

"*Monsieur*: 'Have you read X's article in the *Gaulois*? There's thumping smart stuff for you.'

"And he thumps on the table.

"*France*: 'Smart stuff! Smart stuff! Stuffing is a term used in cookery, of certain dishes stuffed and then roasted: stuffed geese for example. Who are the geese in this case? The readers of your paper?'

"*Madame*: 'Look out! I warn you! Politics again!'

"*Monsieur*: 'Anyway the article is by a patriot and a good Frenchman.'

"*France*: 'Yes, one of those good Frenchmen who can never write French.'

"So we come to the roast. Munching their drumsticks, the two suddenly feel imbued with the warmth of friendship. They make anxious inquiries about each other's health.

"*Monsieur*: 'My dear France, you really should not take so much sauce. Rich food is bad for you. Anyone can see that your liver is out of order. You're positively yellow to-day. You might be made of ginger bread.'

" *France* : 'What is there changed in your appearance, my dear fellow? Have you been breaking your teeth? Look, Madame, he has lost a tooth. An incisor, too. Scientists tell us now that the incisors are the most useful of all the teeth for complete mastication. You should really look after yourself. Always a bad sign, at your age, to lose a tooth.'

" *Monsieur* : 'And you have got good, sharp teeth, thank the Lord!'

" From the chicken to the sweet, the two hold a mutual medical inspection. They count each other's wrinkles, white hairs, loose teeth, signs of weakness, blemishes. They diagnose the most recondite complaints. To listen to them you would think the lawyer and priest needed without an instant's delay and the undertaker to follow. Madame makes a final effort to blow away this hospital atmosphere. To change the subject, she begins to Praise Dr. P...'s collection. She was looking at it only yesterday. 'What Tanagras! What Chinese curios! He really is a man of great taste.' This diversion annoys Monsieur.

Monsieur : 'Taste! What is taste, I should like to know? Anyone who is rich has taste. You can always get others to have it for you. You only have to go to antiquity shops or dealers who have taste. Taste indeed! What nonsense! Why, I have taste.'

" *France* : 'There are people who have taste but no tact, for one is possible without the other. Taste is a feeling for beauty; tact for what is fitting.'

" *Monsieur* : 'Certainly, France, You have taste. You have tact. As much of one as of the other. And you, my dear, have you taste?'

" Madame hesitates before replying. She smiles with an air of victory. She takes her eternal lorgnette of white and gold from the table. She touches the spring, breathes upon the glasses, wipes them with her napkin, places the instrument on her nose, looks for a moment at her husband, and says pointedly :

'True, dear, I did not always have taste.'

" She unharnesses her nose from the lorgnette, breathes once more on the glasses, wipes them, replaces them, and contemplates Anatole France with ecstasy.

" But, thank heaven, I have acquired it."

So is *Anatole France Himself* written. Once scene and then another from the master's life, strung upon a golden thread, the treasure-bearing strand of a modern biographer who brought genius to his Fate-appointed task.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

O, PEACOCK, DANCE AGAIN !

On the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid desiring to be amused, Selim the Persian Youth, releasing his trained peacock, stepped with it into the intricacies of that fantastic measure which took its name from the beautiful bird—much to the delight of the Caliph and his court who knew not which to admire most—the graceful skill of the dancer and his strange companion or the gay air of the following song with which he accompanied his performance :

O, Peacock spread thy painted wing,
The cymbals clash amain ;
To weave the pleasure of a king
An hour of tinted joy we bring,
The perfumed air to stain :
A Jinnih here his couch might fling,
A Peri here might to stoop to sing—
O, Peacock, dance again !

O, Peacock, by the lilting beat
And by the silver strain,
The dark-eyed lords thy beauty greet
And laughing cast their praises meet
In flowers that fall as rain ;
The wild white roses are not sweet
As thy bejewelled slender feet—
O, Peacock, dance again !

The star beneath the dusky skies
Her spangled beauty swings—
Who lit the candle of thine eyes ?
At what young moon's ensilvered rise ?
What painter for thee brings
Thy blended hues of green and gold,
The light of Palace gardens old ?
Bird, with the painted wings !

M. KHUNDKAR

Reviews

A Goan Fiddler. (By Joseph Furtado. B.X. Furtado & Sons, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Price One Rupee.)

The poet—or rather, the Goan Fiddler, for the epithet fits him exactly—has turned out three score verses for the amusement of the public. He deserves commendation for his control over verse-machinery, and the lapses are few. For inspiration he has gone to the cashew tree, the way-side cross, the Ghost of Saligao Hill, and has chatted with the crow and the Dhyal, hence the rhymes come forth naturally. There are, no doubt, discordant notes creeping in now and then—*e.g.*, in his "A Rose" where the transition is rather abrupt towards the end—and the poet himself would disclaim being faultless; but such cases are rare. There are nursery rhymes jumbled up with grotesque legends, and the variety detracts somewhat from the merit of the book. But carping aside, he has in him the making of a poet of graceful fancy, and he has gone to the right source. We wish him success in fiddling, and beg leave to quote below one poem in particular, as being strikingly familiar to us here in Bengal, and suitable for insertion in children's anthologies :

The Child Bride.

Baby's going to father-in-law's house—
Who'll accompany her ?
Little mouse, why look you, little mouse ?
Puss, you need not purr ;
Baby's brother and no other
Shall accompany her ;
Ride a pony by her side—
Here's the *palki* for the bride.
Bearers, bearers, wait ye here,
Let me tell my mother dear.
Mother dear, you must not weep,
Think whose house you yourself keep ;
Wear these bangles,—they've a charm—
They will keep you from all harm.
Bearers, bearers, off we go—
Sweet and low and soft and slow.

P. R. S.

Physical Theory of Sound and its Origin in Indian Thought—By Umesha Mishra, M.A., Kāvyatirtha, Lecturer, Allahabad University, is a lengthy paper dealing with the Hindu theory of sound. The author has collected together good many useful materials from various works on Hindu philosophy. The way in which the author has shown his acquaintance with different Schools of Hindu Philosophy by quoting numerous passages from the authoritative Sanskrit works is admirable and it really reflects much credit upon his scholarship. The paper is not, however, free from some defects. The author does not seem to have dealt with the problem from a critical point of view and nowhere shows the scientific method of drawing conclusions from the mass of facts so carefully arranged. The discussion on a subject which has elicited so much speculations, both in eastern and western worlds, ought to have been more critical and methodical.

P. C. C.

Ascarya Cudamoni, a Sanskrit Drama by Saktibhadra, edited with an introduction by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S., published by the Balamonorama Press, Madras, pp. 238, price Rs. 2.

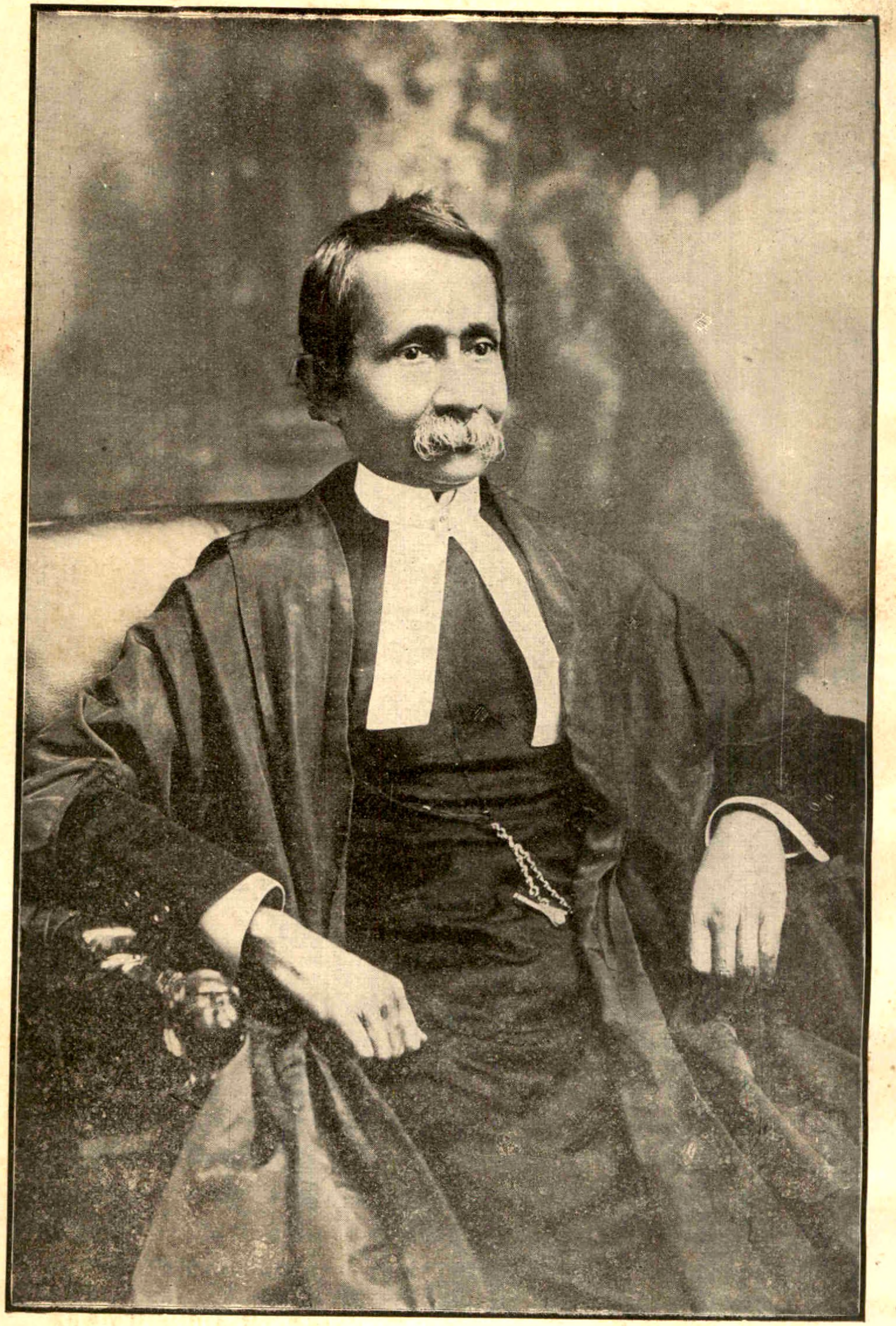
Prof. S. K. Sastri has done a conspicuous service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by bringing to light this important and interesting Sanskrit drama of which very little was hitherto known. The Cūḍāmoṇi belongs to the type of Nāṭaka and deals with the well-known episode of Rāma's life. It seems to have been written on the line of Bhababhūti's Uttaracarita, though it does not bear comparison with the latter in point of some dramatic excellence. It will undoubtedly be a very valuable addition to our dramatic literature. The introduction is well-written and contains many valuable information.

P. C. C.

Manava-Gita—By Jogindranath Bose, Published by The Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, Price 1-4-0.

This excellent book gives in verse the main teachings of the Hindu Shāstras on the intricate problems of life. Such abstruse questions as Âtmâ and Paramâtmā, the path to Realisation, Life after Death are dealt with in such a lucid manner that they are made accessible to the ordinary intelligence. For those who believe in the possibility of religious instruction being imparted through the medium of text-books, this work from the pen of the author of the *Life of Michael Madhusudan Dutt*, will serve admirably the purpose of a religious text-book for use in schools and colleges.

S. K. M.



Gooroodass Banerjee

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE ROLE OF PHILOSOPHY IN CIVILIZATION

"A civilized nation which has no metaphysics is like a temple decked with every kind of ornament, but possessing no holy of holies (Hegel). Hegel does not mean by "metaphysics" here epistemology or logic, but a definite theory of the universe, a world-view, what Plato would call a synoptic vision of reality, which takes into account not only the movements of matter, but the teleological attitudes of men, and which does justice to every side of human experience. Every civilization implies such a metaphysics, even as it has its art and literature, social and religious life. The philosophy of a particular nation will reflect the general temperament of its people, and will bear special reference to the problems of the age when it was formulated. Each system of thought has its own formulas, its own characteristic applications and phrases, its own way of encountering the new problems which always come up in life and thought. It does not, however, mean that there are no universal interests or any objectivity in truth. Simply because the way in which the problems are proposed and the forms in which the solutions are presented vary, we cannot conclude that truth changes its nature with its temporal course or local setting. Philosophy, as a *study* of reality, is subject to evolution. Our knowledge of reality grows, but it does not necessarily follow that the real itself as distinct from the actual is evolving. As we are finding it increasingly difficult to account for the cosmic evolution on the principle of mechanical adaptation to environment, we will find it equally difficult to explain completely the history of philosophic development on the basis of the temperament of the thinkers and the nature of their immediate surroundings. There is, all through, the pressure of an absolute ideal, the control exercised by the nature of reality.

I agree with Professor Dewey in thinking that philosophy or our knowledge of reality, is psychologically mediated. The individual thinker is not merely reason, naked and undefiled. His rational character is an element in a complex setting. Any human being is not an abstract entity, a mere mind or mechanism, but a product of history, with his roots in a long racial, social and ancestral past. History makes him what he is, and determines his way of approach. The point at which the world presses on him varies with his geographical position and his historical environment. The problems which face a philosopher in China at the present moment are different from those which engage the thinkers in this country. The conditioning forces of geography and history enable us to understand the whole course of thought, Eastern and Western, their accents and emphases, their variations and developments.

Philosophy is not simply a theoretical counterpart of the social and spiritual life of a people, but it has a normative function. From the time of the Upanishads in the East and Plato in the West, it has been the task of philosophers to guide the development of the people by formulating ideals and pointing out which of the experiences are to be regarded as central for human life. Philosophy is not a mere reproduction of the facts of life, but is essentially creative in the sense of transforming life. The philosopher meditates on the deeper problems, and the people at large absorb the results of his inquiry. A civilization is a philosophy concretized.

There are thinkers of the present day who ask us to purge philosophy of all interest in morals and society. It is, however, impossible for a true philosopher to eliminate himself entirely from his surroundings. But he should adopt an attitude of detachment and dispassion. It requires a spacious and sensitive mind to understand the different attitudes of men, their ideals and aspirations, and to guide them to their purpose. If we are to get a comprehensive and synoptic vision, we must step aside for a while, and watch the procession. To be able to transform life, we must transcend life, not merely for the sake of transcending it, but also for the sake of transforming it. Philosophy is first to be contemplated before it is worked out. The recognition of the ideal is the first step, while its slow realization is the work of centuries.

It is not necessary for me to give you any illustrations from history to show how a philosophy has a true organic relation to its environment. Professor Taylor has already done it in a clear way. I may perhaps indicate how a system of philosophy at the present day, if it is to be adequate and alive, should be relevant to our present problems which are in a sense unique. Our main interest as a Congress of Philosophy is not so much academic and antiquarian, as contemporary and creative. I believe that there has been no age in the history of the world so full of interest and anxiety to the thoughtful as the present one. The determining factor in the present situation of the world is the role of science. Modern science is breaking down barriers and is creating common interests. The philosophy of the future is likely to be less provincial in character. The world over we seem to be faced by the same problems. The new mathematics, the new physics, the new psychology are revolutionizing accepted notions of space and time, matter and mind. A re-thinking of the problems of the borderland has become urgent. The advances of science have not only disturbed the peace of the philosophers but have also upset the social order and spiritual bases. The world is becoming outwardly uniform, though not yet inwardly united. The shrinkage of space is raising its own problems. The East and the West are becoming next-door neighbours, but not yet understanding friends. We are anxious for world-unity, but are not prepared for getting rid of the habit of mind which makes for world-discord.

When we turn from international to national concerns, our problems are not less acute. Democracy is passing through a testing time. Fascism in Italy and Bolshevism in Russia are only two examples. The class-conflicts in the economic world point to an unstable social equilibrium. The theory that society is a piece of mechanism which will adjust itself automatically through the operation of economic forces of freedom of contract and competition, is steadily losing ground. The workmen claim higher wages and more leisure, with facilities for education and enlightenment, recreation and relaxation. But they do not know how to make constructive use of their leisure, and are devising expensive ways of killing it.

In domestic relations, the upsetting of conventional standards is causing disturbance. There is a lack of understanding between the older and the younger generations. In the traditional codes men have claimed freedom for themselves and have demanded discipline for women. Often men set at rest all bickerings by referring to the natural superiority of women. But women are coming into their own, and are refusing to be our superiors. They are insisting with great force and, I am sorry to say, much success on becoming our equals. We seem to be more anxious for equality than for quality. It is not very modern for a man or a woman who is sick of his or her partner to take to another, but what is modern is a philosophy in justification of it. We have had wickedness with us from the beginning of human history, but we are giving the old habit a new name, self-expression, or wider life. We are regularising irregularities.

When we come to personal religion, we see an extraordinary amount of restlessness. The sciences of psychology, sociology and anthropology are undermining the foundations of orthodox theology in every religion. The varied accounts of religious experience seem to support the view that God is but a shadow of the human mind, a dream of the human heart. The application of the empirical method to religious experience has had unsettling results. Mystics, we were told this morning, are highly suggestible folk, given to externalising their private fancies. An attitude of atheistic naturalism or humanistic idealism is becoming more popular. The text-books of the past do not seem to be of much help in solving the problems of the present. No prophet of old, it is asserted, could have anticipated our difficulties, or understood them. Any attempt to re-interpret ancient faith to suit modern needs may show reverence for the past, but not intellectual honesty. Our modern educated young men have no use for religion as trust in God, or communion with the Unseen. We have built up our technique of society, and are trying to live clean lives; and religion has some pragmatic value as an attitude of life making for social peace and betterment. In every religious community we have a large number of people who are avoiding the discomfort of thinking, and growing indifferent to the problems of the higher life. Others there are, who shut their eyes to the facts of science and modern knowledge, and like horses in blinkers, they go by the beaten track. The cultured stand by a vague social idealism which carries one to some extent and many openly avow doctrines of selfishness in morals and anarchism in social life.

In every side of life, personal, social, national and international, the old ideals have ceased to carry conviction. The old science, the old theology, the old sex code, the old economics, the old political theory and the old international standards are doomed. We cannot revert to them. The fundamentalist's attitude in all these departments has no future.

The new ideals have not come into being. Here is the chance for philosophy. Are we to drift, waiting for something to turn up. Or shall we undertake the spiritual direction of the community? If philosophy is not to abdicate its function, it has to face the challenge of the present situation, and quickly too. We are not so much in need of a keen analysis of particular problems as those of essence and existence, sensa and perspectives, or pragmatic insistence on methodology and futility of metaphysics, interesting as they all are, but philosophy in the larger sense of the term, a spiritual view of the universe broadbased on the results of sciences and aspirations of humanity. It is no use re-asserting conventional views; for that would be to ignore the inwardness of the present unrest. We have to steer a middle course between orthodox theology and godless naturalism.

It is a welcome sign of the times that science, which has inflicted the wounds, is also trying to heal them up. Some of the greatest philosophers of the present day are scientific metaphysicians. They are not satisfied with the facile solutions of a crude naturalism. It is becoming increasingly evident that a scientific view of the world does not make God superfluous. The passing flux of the world is not like the heaving and hurrying, yet ultimately unprogressive movement of an agitated sea. The course of life is not a series of accidents, but is an ordered ascent from the fresh beginnings of life up to man, and from the primitive uncivilized man to the more spiritual type. The world is tending towards deification, to use the phrase of Alexander. The subjection of the cosmic process to law, and its tendency to produce higher values suggest a Creative Principle operating throughout the course of nature, bringing about ever new and higher forms of life on the stage prepared for it by the lower. This creative urge, this immanent drive in things, this *nisus* towards increasing diversity and perfection, whatever we may call it, indicates the reality of an ultimate Spirit which in religious terms is called God. Such a view is also in harmony with the religious history of the world. From the primitive savage, kneeling before some supposedly sacred tree or holy stone, thrilled with the thought that somewhere at the back of created matter lies and vibrates a force, a Power beyond his knowing, into contact with which he must somehow come, down to the great faiths of to-day, men have understood that God is the reality behind and beyond and within the shifting panorama of nature and history.

The interpretation of this cosmic process, whether in terms of emergent or creative evolution, requires us to admit that God's creative activity is not confined to the significant stages in the evolutionary process, but inspires the whole onward march. God does not intervene to create mind or life or spiritual insight, but is working continuously. Creation is not an instantaneous act, but is an eternal process. The immanence of God which follows from this hypothesis is the pledge that evil and error, ugliness and imperfection are not ultimate. Evil has reference to the distance which good has to traverse. Error is the stage on the pathway to truth. Ugly is only halfway to a thing, in Meredith's phrase.

The human being has much in common with plant life and animal world, but in addition has power to understand his place in the world's scheme and to share in the work of God. He can control his growth, where as plants and animals cannot. Prehuman progress *happened.* Human progress can be *willed.* Each of us has a place in the great adventure. We can use the material with which we are supplied to promote our spiritual ideals. We have enough freedom to deal with the given material. Human development is not a mere passive unfolding of which each step is rigorously determined by the preceding, but is a process of active reconstruction, conditioned by the materials furnished by experience. Until the different individuals realize the purposes with which they are charged, the world-process is unfinished.

Some such view, it seems to me, will help to clear up our present confusion. Religion will not be a mere sanction for the rules of conduct. It is a vision of reality, superior to the historical process. In religious life we endeavour to gain a foothold in the world of eternal values from which to dominate and transmute the life of time. Religion is not merely social service and vague humanitarianism, but confidence in the supremacy of a spiritual reality which gives us strength, and faith in the hour of need, that though the waves on the shore may be broken, the ocean conquers nevertheless. It is not only a life transforming, but a life transcending. The world is suffering, not for lack of light, but for lack of power. We have a high moral tone, but not much moral fervour. We speak of brotherhood, but with little real brotherly love. We love humanity in the abstract, but pass it by in the concrete. We love the beggars on the stage, but not at the theatre-door nor even at the temple-door. The dynamic energy to make us live up to our ideals comes, not from the mind, but from the depths of soul. Self-discipline is a necessary quality of moral life. If we do not cast out the devil from our nature, we cannot exorcise it from the society which it torments. We cannot be satisfied with social idealism, however divine it may be. We may be doing God's work all the time, but let us keep some free moments for self-examination and communion with the Eternal. Prayers to deity now and then are not enough, but we should also hold our souls in patience and wait in silence for the answers to our prayers. Such an attitude is likely to develop a serenity of mind and poise which will not be disturbed by the shocks of circumstance. Endurance and reform and not indignation and destruction should be our ideal. There is no use in being condemnatory towards a sinner. We must stretch out to him the hand of sympathy and fellowship as a pilgrim who has been led astray. Every sinner has a future, even as every saint has had a past. The worst criminal has within him an indestructible potency of regeneration. He can turn over a new leaf, and gain a new start.

If this spiritual attitude controls our life from its apex to its foundation, then it will help to sanctify society itself. The secular and the religious aspects of life are not two independent departments, governed by independent laws, but relative distinctions within a larger whole. We should welcome the world of human appetites as the scaffolding from amid which the life of the spirit must rise. The purpose of the institution of marriage is, not mutual satisfaction, but enhancement of personality. There is a great saying in the Upanishads, " Not for the sake of the husband is the husband dear, but the husband is dear for the sake of the spirit. Not for the sake of the wife is the wife dear, but the wife is dear for the sake of the spirit." We are not simply individuals, but members of society, and pursuers of spiritual ideals. Life is not merely a list of opportunities for self-satisfaction, but a set of obligations for realizing spiritual good. If life is to be lived merely from moment to moment, then there will be nothing to live for. Self-realization consists, not in the raw exercise of elemental passions, but in their sublimation. Except in the pages of fiction we do not have two people agreeing with each other in tastes and temper, in ideals and aspirations. No two persons are alike. The differences are the material which have to be worked into a harmonious whole. If the existence of incompatibility be a justification for separation, most of us would be divorced. No! It is a challenge to a strenuous life. Marriage is the beginning of the problem, and has for its end the transformation of one's chance mate into a lifelong comrade. Those who enter married life, should be prepared for the exercise of patience and restraint. Women insist on equality ; they are welcome to do so. But only, let them impose their higher standards of discipline on men, rather than accept the lower standards of freedom which they rightly deprecate, or used to deprecate in men.

In the economic world co-operation should take the place of competition. We must give up the individualistic view, and look upon society as a system of mutual, though varying obligations held together by a common ideal. Every kind of function is valuable, so long as it serves the social good. Democracy does not mean equality of endowment or function, but equality of value as human beings. Each man as man has a value which is unique, and a dignity which is inalienable. The workers are certainly entitled to the essential conditions of well-being, but should not forget that what is necessary for well-being is not simply easier circumstances, or more comforts of life and larger opportunities for pleasure, but inner harmony and spiritual poise. The great religious teachers speak to us of a peace which the world can neither give nor take away. Without serenity and poise, restraint and self-control, we are not truly civilized, however great may be our outward accomplishments. A monkey trained to ride a bicycle and smoke a pipe is still a monkey.

In the world of international relations we are to realize that national, racial, religious imperialism does not make for peace. Unless we grow internationally minded, peace will not break out on earth. We cannot get rid of wars and rumours of wars simply by talking of peace and actually preparing for war. When a nation in the height of its power and the plenitude of wealth helps its weak neighbour, even at the sacrifice of its interests, that act will bring peace nearer than all conferences and congresses on peace. We cannot accomplish spiritual ends by mechanical measures.

Our attitude towards races whom we are pleased to call primitive and savage must be one of sympathy. The 'primitive' and the 'savage' but for the grace of God are ourselves under much less favourable conditions. We should see in the differences of races and nations the means by which humanity should progress through mutual service and enrichment to its complete, full-orbed development.

In the sphere of religion we cannot adopt the dualistic attitude that the plants in my garden are of God, while those in my neighbour's garden are planted by the devil which we should destroy at any cost. It is unfair to God and man to assume that he has entrusted His exclusive revelation to some one prophet, Buddha, Jesus or Mohammed, expecting all others to borrow from him, or else suffer spiritual destitution.

The present needs make upon philosophy a demand to put forth a constructive theory of life, fair to science and faithful to true religion, a philosophy which would insist on the supremacy of a spiritual reality and the practice of self-discipline and self-sacrificing service. This, to my mind, is the role of philosophy in the present stage of the history of civilisation.[1]

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

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[1] Address to the General Session devoted to the discussion of *Philosophy in its Relation to Civilisation* of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy, Harvard University, September 15, 1926.

FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE AND AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Dr. Emil Reich, eminent Hungarian lecturer in London during the period before the World War, once said that though the words *Liberté*, *Egalité*, *Fraternité* were written on all public buildings of France yet no country possessed all these fine things; that England had "Liberté," France, "Egalité" and America, "Fraternité." In other words, the ideal of England, France and America taken together spell the word "Freedom." To-day more than ever the *interdependence* of nations needs to be emphasised rather than their independence.

Like two athletes struggling together and in the struggle developing each his own qualities, so far hundreds of years England and France struggled for supremacy, the one over the other. Both from different angles were working towards the same end—freedom and power. At first Norman conquerors transformed England and were themselves transformed; then for a hundred years across the channel, they tried to imperialize France. When this dream had to be relinquished, both nations found an outlet for their energies in the vast regions opened up by the discoveries of Columbus. As time went on the characteristic differences between the English and the French accentuated themselves. England in her quest of Empire broke away from Rome and France remained Catholic. In the New World the English formed settlements which were compact, easy of access from the coast, while the French were adventurous, penetrating deep into the wilderness, loving the wild free life. To them, with their innate sense of equality, the Red-man was a friend and brother whom they trusted without thought of fear. The

English on the contrary, with a few striking exceptions, scorned the native whom they found living in the places which they wished themselves to occupy and they treated them as enemies and aliens. The stern Puritans stacked their arms outside the Church where they worshipped, and were ready at the slightest alarm to repel attacks ; few indeed were those among them who thought of bringing to the Red-man the light of Christian Faith. With the French, on the other hand, went everywhere the Catholic Missionary priest. Among the daring and early explorers were French Jesuits who fearlessly risked their lives and endured untold sufferings for the love of Christ and their brothers, the Red-men. They baptised countless infants, instructed the Chiefs and brought whole tribes into the Church. It is said that the aborigines were quite ready to take over the Frenchman's religion if they could be assured in the other world of such cooking as the Frenchman provided them in this.

Finally a day came when the English and the French met in a contest to decide which should dominate in the New World. For more than a decade the conflict lasted. It ended with the triumph of England. By the treaty of 1763, the whole of New France passed into the hands of the British. By forcing upon her rival humiliating terms and driving that rival from competition in America, England, all unconsciously, helped to lay the foundation of the future Alliance between her disaffected Colonies and France which in 1783 culminated in the Peace of Paris, by which the United States of America became a fact. Thus were the historical wrongs righted and a new order established in the world.

With the passing of France from America, England found herself free to set about curbing the rising spirit of insubordination which already was manifesting itself amongst the colonists. One measure of repression after another was tried until finally in 1774, the outbreak came with the Boston Massacre, followed by the closing of the Port. During all this while France was an interested on-looker, she had not lacked statesmen who, even in the moment of defeat, had foreseen such an eventuality and it was natural they should look favourably upon any signs of resistance to British aggressions. But at the moment of the Boston outbreak a complete change had come over the situation in France. The old King and his advisors had passed from the scene and a youth with totally different tastes and habits had mounted to the throne.

Louis XVI had been trained from his earliest years to outdoor sports. He was a fearless rider and grand amateur of the hunt, but for all social relations he was modest and shy to a fault. Had his tastes been consulted he would have preferred a quiet country estate to the splendour of a Court. Deeply religious by nature, a devout and convinced Catholic, it was natural he should take his duties seriously. He sincerely desired to rule his kingdom wisely and well. To this end he chose as advisors men more conspicuously modest than brilliant. This was especially true of his Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Comte de Vergennes, a man admirably suited to guide and direct the youthful monarch in the development of a sound foreign policy. A trained diplomat of tried probity, cautious, prudent, far-sighted, tireless in application to the details of his task, the Comte de Vergennes was withal a man deeply imbued with the past of his country, was abreast of present conditions and zealous for all that would aid in its rehabilitation. Like his predecessors in office he felt a keen interest in the developing insurrection in America and through an agent, Caron de Beaumarchais ostensibly retained in London for affairs of minor importance, the latest news from the Colonies together with British reaction thereto reached him almost daily from England along with more formal and much less informing dispatches which came through the French Embassy. Indeed, the documents show that it was Beaumarchais who first conceived and developed a plan by which the struggling Colonies could be aided in their revolt against Great Britain without necessitating an open breach between the two countries.

The outbreak which had occurred in the spring of 1774 in the environs of Boston culminated in September in the convening of delegates from the thirteen Colonies at Philadelphia, in what proved to be the First Continental Congress. Early next spring came the battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill. A second Congress had been called which met in Philadelphia, 1st May, 1775. Almost simultaneously reached them the news of the fall of Fort Ticonderoga and a few days later Benjamin Franklin arrived from England, bringing with him considerable knowledge of European affairs, and a belief that the enemies of England could be persuaded to help the Colonies if they were serious in their revolt. This outlook heartened the Delegates though it required time for the majority of them to bring their minds into harmony with the idea of a possible alliance with Catholic France. Meanwhile George Washington, Delegate from Virginia, was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Army which he was expected to create out of the raw recruits which were gathered together at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

From the very first, the most appalling of all the needs felt by the leaders of the American Revolution was that of military equipment. They also needed a few highly trained and experienced officers and engineers. They had no ready money but they hoped to be able to produce enough tobacco and other raw materials to induce some country to let them buy arms and ammunitions on credit. Committees were appointed to look into the needs and possibilities of meeting them at home but the realization deepened as time went on that without foreign aid resistance to Great Britain could not be kept up. But to what country could they turn? Benjamin Franklin was the only man in Congress with an extended knowledge of the European situation, so a Committee of Secret Correspondence, with him as the Chief, was created by the Congress, whose duty should be to decide the weighty questions of establishing foreign relations and securing foreign aid to lead the revolution to a successful conclusion. Shortly after the creation of this Committee, in December 1775, a French traveller, Bonvouloir by name, arrived in Philadelphia where he soon got in touch with Franklin with whom he had long conversations. Bonvouloir disclaimed any official sanction for his utterances but he freely gave it as his opinion that the Secret Committee would do well to send a representative direct to the Court of France. This policy was, therefore, decided upon and the representative chosen was Silas Deane, distinguished member of the First and Second Continental Congress, a Yale graduate, a lawyer and merchant from Connecticut.

Deane left America secretly on the 1st March, 1776. He was charged with three commissions : (1) to buy articles for the Indian trade, (2) to secure the equipment for an army of thirty thousand men and a few officers and engineers, and, (3) to form an alliance with France. At the time of his arrival in Europe the French Government had already given its secret agent Beaumarchais a large sum of money with which to found a Commercial House on a gigantic scale for the express purpose of supplying the insurgents with the sinews of war. The operations of the House were to be carried on in such a way, however, that the Government should be in no way compromised by seeming to have any part in it. The situation was a delicate one requiring the greatest prudence and tact. Beaumarchais had the entire confidence of Vergennes ; but where could an American be found to work with him, and capable of inspiring a like confidence ? It was just as the French Minister was beginning to ask himself this question that the representative of the Secret Committee of the Continental Congress put in an appearance. An interview was arranged with Silas Deane and Vergennes, which took place on July 14, 1776. It lasted two hours. The impression made by Deane was such that the astute and cautious Minister of Foreign Affairs, at its close, was willing to commit France to the danger-fraught policy of Secret Aid. Deane was informed that next day a French merchant would call upon him and that the commissions with which he was charged could proceed.

The merchant indicated by Vergennes was Caron de Beaumarchais. Deane knew nothing of the relation of the latter with the Government but was well aware that the utmost secrecy and despatch were necessary if success was to crown their efforts. Indeed the path the two men had entered proved to be a thorny one. The gigantic operations had to be carried on in such a way that the ever vigilant British Ambassador should have no cause to break the peace with France. Difficulties of a thousand kind beset them. Spies dogged their footsteps in Paris and in the ports where their ships were loading. Moreover, the indiscreet enthusiasm of the French officers enlisted, among them Lafayette, threatened more than once the success of the enterprise. The ovation given to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, on his arrival, still further embarrassed the work of Beaumarchais and Deane. To allay British suspicions, the Government was forced to take a hostile attitude towards all such demonstrations and for a time forbade the sailing of any of the supply-laden ships. In spite of these and a thousand other obstacles, Beaumarchais and Deane succeeded in sending out sufficient equipment to supply the needs of the American Army for the campaign of 1777 which ended in the brilliant victory of Saratoga in October of that year, for the American Colonists.

This victory brought to an end the period of Secret Aid, for it led directly to the open espousal of American Independence by His Most Christian Majesty the Catholic King of France, Louis XVI. The aid which followed was open and avowed. France was now ready to face all the consequences of boldly entering the war on the side of the American

Colonists. Although many American historians belittle the aid extended by France to the cause of American Independence, it is an admitted fact that without the aid of France, American Independence could not have been secured.

The surrender of Bourgoyne at Saratoga is well classed by historians as one of the decisive battles of the world. It took place on October 1 , 1777; and the whole attitude of Europe was changed by it. News of British defeat did not reach Europe until December. In England, the Ministry realised the necessity of immediate offer of conciliation with the Colonies and they decided to send out commissioners to America to deal with the Colonists. Unfortunately for the British, several months elapsed before the terms could be agreed upon, so precious time was wasted. In France on the other hand the Ministry hastened to send out the preliminary Treaties of Amity and Commerce which the Commissioners Deane and Franklin had drawn up with Conrad Alexander Gerard, Secretary of Vergennes and who acted as French Plenipotentiary in drawing up the Treaties, to the Continental Congress for its consideration. Simeon Deane, brother of Silas, who was in Europe on business, was entrusted to deliver the precious documents to the Continental Congress at the earliest possible moment. On the 16th December, 1777, Simeon Deane secretly left Paris to embark on a vessel carrying thirty-six guns lying in the port of Bordeaux. So imperative was the need of secrecy that even the Captain had no notion of whom he was carrying or of the importance of the voyage. His destination, even, was unknown to him. Terrific storms which destroyed numerous ships in the Bay of Biscay prevented their leaving until the first of January. As the Captain supposed his destination to be Brest, he failed to take sufficient provision and water for the journey to America of which he only learned when far out to sea. However, he pressed forward. Owing to violent storm he had to return to Bordeaux, with his disabled ship and cargo on 1st March,

1778. This delay was a bitter disappointment to all those interested in the cause of American Independence in France. In England, on the contrary, the news carried by British spies, caused widespread joy and gave the Ministry hope that there might still be time in which to bring the wayward Colonists back to their allegiance.

The French Government lost no time in useless repining, but ordered at once a strong and fast-sailing vessel of thirty-two guns—*The Sensible*—to be ready. A few days later Simeon Deane set out a second time, bearing now in additon to the first despatches, the finished Treaties which had been signed on February 6, 1778. Providence favoured him this time, and after what was a swift voyage for those days he reached Casco Bay in thirty-five days. He at once started out on horse-back pushing forward with all possible speed to join the Congress which was in session in York, Pennsylvania. His route took him through Boston, and across the Hudson at Fishkill. Everywhere as he passed, he spread the glad tidings but without tarrying in his course. From Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, he despatched a courier to Washington at Valley Forge, and reached York in the late afternoon of Saturday, 2nd May, after the Congress had adjourned for the week. Immediately on his arrival, the bells were rung, Congress convened to listen to the reading of the despatches and to hear the terms of the Treaties by which France pledged her aid until Independence should be established.

The feeling produced by these dramatic events, in Congress, in the Army and among the patriots generally, have come down to us through contemporary letters and documents. The winter of 1778, with the British in possession of Philadelphia and the American army suffering every kind of destitution at Valley Forge, had been a trying one. Owing to a series of misadventures, no word had reached America from their Commissioners at the Court of France since August of the previous year. It was the winter when cabals were rife and even some prominent members of Congress wished to see Washington replaced by the incompetent Gates. The cause of Independence was indeed hanging in the balance. With the coming of the Treaties, however, all these shadows dispersed, like clouds before the sun. Let us quote a few sentences from contemporary letters and see what happened at Valley Forge after the reception of the news;

The courier despatched from Bethlehem by Simeon Deane reached Washington at Valley Forge on the 1st of May. The Commander-in-Chief wrote immediately to the President of the Congress[1]:—

VALLEY FORGE,
May 1st, 1778.

"To

THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS,

...With infinite pleasure I beg to congratulate Congress on the very important and interesting advices brought by the Frigate "*Sensible.*" General McDougal and Mr. Deane were so obliging as to transmit to me the outlines of the good tidings. As soon as the Congress may think it expedient, I shall be happy to have an opportunity of announcing to the army, with usual ceremony, such parts of the intelligence as may be proper, and sanctioned by authority. I have mentioned the matter to such officers as I have seen; and I believe no event was received with more heart-felt joy...

I have the honor to be, etc.,
(SD.) GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The President of Congress announced to the Commander-in-Chief[2];—

YORK,
May 3rd, 1778.

"...I despatched to Your Excellency news of an event the knowledge of which may very probably have reached camp, before this can arrive there, as our messenger from France, Mr. Simeon Deane, had spoken everywhere on his journey to York of the Treaties between the Court of Versailles and the United States of America which were executed Feb. 7, 1778. They were read in Congress late last evening and will probably be ratified and published in the course of the present week......I beg leave to congratulate...with Your Excellency and with every friend of America."

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[1] Spark's Life of Washington, Vol. V, p. 353.

[2] Letters from Members of the Continental Congress, edited by Dr. Edward Burnett, Vol. III, p. 214.

The above letter reached Washington after he had written the orders for the 6th May, 1778. In the "Order Book" of the Revolution, kept in the Division of Manuscript of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., under the caption "After Orders, May 6th, 1778" can be seen in the handwriting of the Commander-in-Chief the details of the celebration which he devised for the occasion. Washington wrote:

> "It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe propitiously to defend the cause of the United American States and finally by raising up a powerful Friend from among the Princes of the Earth to establish our Liberty and Independence, it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the Divine Goodness and celebrating the important events which we owe to His benign Interposition."

Then follows the detailed instructions. The carrying out of them is vividly described by Baron de Kalb in a letter to the Prince de Broglie, preserved in the French Archives. Among other things it records[1]:

> "...Every one is enchanted with the generosity of the King. They sing his praises. They vow to him an eternal and boundless gratitude. They can hardly recover from the astonishment into which the disinterestedness of the monarch has shown them. There is no doubt of the sincerity of their feelings. The Tories even know not what to say, because it is so noble, so sublime and so far above anything they could conceive that their joy is inexpressible. All hearts therefore seem to belong to Louis XVI."

The knowledge of the Treaties spread abroad in the land and strengthened immeasurably the cause of Independence and forced the British to evacuate Philadelphia, which they did a few weeks later. When the British Commissioners arrived in June their mission had already been rendered useless, which fact they were not slow in realising. One of them, the Earl of Carlisle wrote home, June 15, from Philadelphia [1]:

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[1] Stevens Facsimiles, 821, The Library of Congress, Washington.

> "Mr. Deane has had an excellent passage to America and landed some time before us in Casco Bay, with all the darling allurements of the French Treaty and connections...These circumstances reduced us to infinite difficulties...We foresaw little probability of success by any appeal to the Congress."

The British Commissioners, failing in their mission, embarked for England. In the meantime a French Fleet arrived in the Delaware Bay. With it came the Minister Plenipotentiary, Conrad-Alexander Gerard who had been given the post as a reward for his success in negotiating the Treaties. Gerard's presence in America and the aid rendered Congress during the critical period which followed, saved the Alliance and made the ultimate triumph of the cause of Independence.

In summing up the result of the Alliance it is significant to note that France gained no material advantage from her immense expenditure. Both the King and Vergennes preferred a lasting peace and friendship with the United States of America to any arrangement carrying in it the seeds of future wars. At the Treaty of Peace of 1783 France neither asked nor obtained additional territory. The reward was a moral and ideal one only, and the defeat of Great Britain—an enemy of France. To America the Alliance with France meant far more than simply millions loaned, the millions given; far more even than the help of her armies and her fleets. It meant self-respect, confidence and moral force, without which victory would have been worthless. But to Catholics of America the French Alliance had an added significance. Few in number and scorned by the dominant Puritans of the period, Catholics at the outbreak of the Revolution were socially ostracised. The arrival in Philadelphia of the French

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[1] Steven's Facsimiles, No. 74.

Minister Gerard (a Catholic) and his suite instantly changed all this.

At the time of the French Alliance the condition of the Royal Treasury was precarious; however, it was through the earnest desire of the French King that the necessary funds to aid the American cause were raised. There is nothing in the whole story of French aid to America which redounds more to the glory of Louis XVI than the fact that instead of increasing the taxes and thereby laying the burden of the war on the common people, he demanded the enormous sums from the higher clergy. The response of the clergy was noble and generous as that of the King in espousing the cause of American Independence. Again and again they poured millions into the Royal Treasury for the express purpose of the prosecution of the war. And these millions were never returned. It is true that so long as he remained in power, Louis XVI returned annually a stipulated sum which relieved somewhat the strain to which the Clergy were put, but the French Revolution swallowed the rest. This then is the King who has been accused of so impoverishing the people that he forced the French Revolution; but history has exonerated him. The documents are now open to the public and the truth can no longer be concealed.

A little over one hundred and fifty years ago on July 4, 1776, the Colonists in America declared their Independence from the rule of Great Britain. They had to fight for their independence. But it cannot be denied that without the aid from France and her allies, it would not have been possible to establish the United States of America. The Treaty of French Alliance with America was concluded in February 7, 1778, and its effect has been tremendous and most revolutionary in the history of world politics. Without this alliance and without the success of the Colonists, to-day Britain would have been in possession of the vast continent of North America. There might not have come into existence a Monroe Doctrine, and there might have arisen a very different kind of Balance of Power in Europe and thus the political history of the world, and particularly of Europe, would have been something very different than what it is to-day.

To-day the United States of America is the strongest nation in the world and its influence is far-reaching in the affairs of the American continents, Europe, Asia as well as in Africa. It is conceivable that in future American economic, commercial and political power is going to be more formidable. Directly and indirectly, the birth of this great republic, and its present and future greatness, are linked up with the little incident of the Alliance with France. From the standpoint of political history of the time when the alliance was concluded, it revolutionised world politics. In the field of current practices of diplomatic relations, the incident was no less revolutionary—the Catholic King was aiding the Puritan Republicans of America. Let us note that this idea of securing foreign aid and forming an alliance did not arise in the mind of the common people of America; on the contrary, a few persons like Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin and others had the intelligence and far-sight to conceive it; and on the other hand, the French King, Vergennes, Beaumarchais, Gerard and a few others made it possible to make it a reality. It may be well said that the influence of Franco-American Alliance in American Revolution is tremendous; and its subsequent effect in world politics is so great and complex that it cannot be described adequately, because it has changed the whole course of human history.

ELIZABETH S. KITE

TWO PUPPET NAWAB-NAZIMS OF BENGAL

I,—MUBARAK-UD-DAULA.

(*Mutamm--ul-Mulk Saiyyad Mombarak Ali Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, 1795-1793*)

This puppet Nawab-Nazim of Bengal was the third son[1] of Mir Jafar and succeeded to the Nizamat on March 26, 1770, after the death of his elder brother, Saifuddaula at the age of eleven. A fresh treaty between him and the Company was drawn up on the 21st March, 1770, as follows :—

ON THE PART OF THE COMPANY[2]

We, the Governor-General and Council, do engage to secure to the Nawab Mubarakuddaula, the Subedari of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to support him therein with the Company's forces against all his enemies.

ON THE PART OF THE NAWAB

Article I. The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company upon his first accession to the Nizamat, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Governor and Council as his own, that entered into by my brothers, the Nawabs Najimuddaula and Saifuddaula, the same treaties as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent and meaning thereof, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

Article II. The King has been graciously pleased to grant unto the English East India Company the Diwanship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, as a free gift for ever; and I having an entire confidence in them and in their servants, settled in this country, that nothing whatever be proposed or carried into execution by them derogating from my honour, interest and the good of my country, do therefore, for the better conducting the affairs of the Subedari and promoting my honour and interest and that of the Company, in the best manner, agree that the protecting of the province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be entirely left to their direction, and good management in consideration of their paying the King, Shah Alam, by monthly payments, as by treaty agreed on, the sum of Rs. Two lakhs, sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six, ten annas and nine pies (2,16,666-10-9) and to me, Mubarakud-Daula, the annual stipend of Rs. thirty-one lakhs eighty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one, nine annas (31,81,991-9-0), that is the sum of fifteen lakhs eighty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one rupees and nine annas for my house, servants and other expenses, indispensably necessary and the remaining sum of Rs. sixteen lakhs for the support of such sepoys, peon and Burkandazes as may be thought proper for my Sawari but on no account ever to exceed that amount.

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[1] The author of Tarikh-i-Muzaffari says he was the fifth son, but according to Major Walsh, the author of "History of Murshidabad" and who was a civil surgeon at Murshidabad quite recently, Mubarak was the third son. British Museum Ms. OR. 466.

[2] "The Treaties, Engagements, Sanads, etc.," Vol. III, pp. 62-64 (3rd edition).

Article III. The Nabob Minah Dowla (Reza Khan), who was at the instance of the Governor and gentlemen of the Council, appointed Naib of the provinces, and invested with the management of affairs in conjunction with Maharaja Doolub Ram and Jugget Seat, shall continue in the same post and with the same authority; and having a perfect confidence in him, I, moreover agree to let him have the disbursing of the above sum of Rupees sixteen lakhs for the purposes above mentioned.

The Nawab[1] being a minor was under the regency of Mohamad Reza Khan, who appointed Ali Ibrahim Khan as the Diwan of the household and Amin Beg Khan and Ali Naqi Khan as tutors. The household of Babbo Begum, the Nawab's mother, was separated from that of Munni Begum much against the wishes of the latter.

He had hardly been on the *Masnad* for two years when the Company's government on the orders of the Directors, dated 10th April, 1771, ordered the Nawab's allowance to be reduced to sixteen lakhs while he was a minor.

Another important change[2] soon after this was the arrest of Reza Khan and the consequent changes in the Nizamat.

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[1] See notes on Reza Khan. *Vide* Imtiaz Mohd. Khan's "Correspondence of Col. Murray" and Seir, Vol. III, p. 26.

[2] Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 584, pp. 3-9, India Office Records.

Hastings himself went to Murshidabad in 1772 and appointed Munni Begum as the guardian and regent of the Nawab. Raja Gur Das, the son of Nund Kumar, was appointed Diwan of the household while Raj Ballabh, son of Raja Dulab Ram, was given the Diwanship of the Khalsa on the following salaries :

Munni Begum	...	...	Rs. 1,40,000
Raja Gur Das	...	...	„ 1,00,000
Raj Ballabh	...	...	60,000

Many useless servants were dismissed and some of the elephants and horses were dispensed with. This reduction must have affected "some hundreds of persons of the ancient nobility of the country, excluded under the Company's Government from almost all employments, civil and military, and had, ever since the revolution, depended on the bounty of the Nabob and near 10 lacs of rupees were bestowed that way."

Munni Begum[1] continued to be the regent and guardian till 1775, when Reza Khan was reinstated on the motion of Hastings' opponents. In the meanwhile Hastings had to drive out "His Highness' chief minions and instruments of his irregular pleasures." There was a good deal of fuss at the alleged misappropriation of the Nawab's allowance by Munni Begum. An inquiry was set on foot, and Munni Begum was suspended. Maxwell, Anderson and James Grant held the inquiry and found out an embezzlement of Rs. 9,67,693, but the Committee left it to their superiors to decide whether she had really embezzled that sum or not.

Reza Khan's reinstatement was repugnant to Mubarakuddaula who began to protest against this. Hastings' opponents accused Hastings for making the Nawab protest in this way. The Faujdari Adalut was still under the Nazim but now the Company dispensed with the necessity of having Faujdari warrants signed by the Nawab, and Sadrul Haq Khan, the Darogha of the Nizamat, was given the authority to sign these warrants and this was another step by which the Nawab Nazim of Bengal was gradually reduced to the position of a mere "phantom" and a "man of straw" in the words of Le Maister.[1]

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[1] See notes on Reza Khan, and Home Misc. Vol. 584, pp. 13-14.

In February, 1778,[2] the young Nawab attained his majority and in his letter to the Company's Government of 12th February, 1778, demanded full powers. Consequently, Reza Khan was dismissed in March of the same year and at the instance of the Governor General, Sadrul Haq Khan, who was the Darogha of the Faujdari, was appointed as the Naib and Raja Gur Das as the Diwan of the Nizamat. The allowances were fixed as follows, according to this arrangement:

		Rs.
Sadrul Haq Khan	... ...	78,000
Gur Das	... ...	72,000
Munni Begum	... ...	72,000
Babbo Begum	... ...	36,000
	TOTAL ...	2,58,000

These new appointments were bitterly resented by Hastings' opponents. But, unfortunately, the Directors disapproved of this and ordered the reinstatement of Reza Khan who was consequently restored in November, 1779. The Nawab again protested in his letter of 22nd February, 1780, and resented Reza Khan's authority calling him "a person having no right to exercise authority over" him.

Now, Mubarakuddaula, in spite of an order not to correspond directly with the Directors, petitioned them through

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[1] Governor General's letter to Court, 15th Jan., 1776. Parliamentary Collection, 16a, p. 91, India Office.

[2] Home Miscellaneous Vol. 534, pp. 18-29 *et sequel*.

Sir John D'Oyley who had retired in 1785 from the Residentship of Murshidabad for the increase of his allowance. The Directors in reply wrote to the Governor General on 27th July, 1786:[1]

> "By its not having been conveyed through the usual channel of the Governor General and Council we are deprived of the benefit of your opinion to assist us......We can only for the present direct you to pay every favourable attention to his representations, as we have reasons to believe his disposition is pliable.........But we are obliged to regret that our circumstances at present disable us from maintaining the dignity of the Subedar in full......As regards the Nawab's request to re-establish his authority in the city of Murshidabad we see no harm in allowing him to hold the exclusive administration of criminal justice, subject to the general regulations of justice throughout the province.
>
> "We disapprove of the practice of Indian princes of keeping our servants in London as their agents and corresponding with us directly through these agents. Sir John D'Oyley is an agent of Bengal Nawab, while Mr. Ross represents the Raja of Tanjore."

The Governor General did not think it advisable to increase his allowance but took some measures for relieving him from some of the expenses. The European guard[2] which entailed a considerable burden on the Nawab's light purse was withdrawn from the first of March, 1787, Residency was abolished and the Collector of Murshidabad was to look after the affairs of the Residency; Munni Begum's allowance was separated from that of the Nawab, and strictest economy was enjoined on the Nawab who was left at liberty to manage his own affairs in detail. Pursuant to the sanction of the Court of Directors, the Faujdari jurisdiction over the city of Murshidabad was also given to him, subject to some restrictions.

There were a good many complaints about the Nawab's Durbar and the Government sent Shore to inquire into the affairs of the Nizamat. Shore found out that the Nawab entirely neglected his duties and left everything in the hands of his Diwan Raja Sunder Singh whose only duty was to please the Nawab. Besides, Shore noticed the growing family of the Nawab and the latter's neglect of the Government's instructions of 1781 relating to economy. In view of this report, Diwan Sunder Singh was dismissed in spite of the Nawab's efforts to save him. Mirza Khaleel, the Nawab's son-in-law, was appointed in his place at the recommendation of the Nawab. The Governor General also wrote to the Nawab asking him to manage his affairs carefully and not to allow himself to fall into the hands of his advisers and to do his best to discharge his debts by effecting economy.

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[1] Dispatches to Bengal Secret., 27th July, 1786, Vol. XV, India [Office Records.

[2] 'Letters from Bengal' Military Department, 19th February, 1787, Vol. XXV and "Home Miscellaneous" Vol. 584, p. 22 *et sequel.* India Office Records.

Cornwallis[1] wrote to the Directors on the 4th March, 1787 :

> ".........The Nabob's temper and disposition appear to be naturally good, and his understanding, if not strong, at least not very deficient: but his habits of indolence and inattention to business are, I am afraid, so much confirmed that he will ever be the dupe of interested men who can approach him. His present necessities have arisen from some of the above causes and I am persuaded that a greater income would give no permanent relief to his distress."

To put a stop to these affairs Cornwallis[2] appointed Speke, the Collector of Rajshahi, to look after the management of the Nawab's allowance and Ives, the Judge of Murshidabad Diwani, was appointed to form a new system for the management of the Nizamat by (1) ascertaining the precise amount of the Nawab's just debts, (2) by proposing a reduction of the Nawab's expenses, (3) by allotting an allowance for the Nawab's eldest son, (4) by proposing such checks and regulations as Ives might think proper. Mr. Ives made the following proposals :

(1) Salaries, etc., to be reduced to effect an economy of Rs. 14,448 per month.

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[1] Ross: Correspondence of Cornwallis, Vol. II, p. 522.

[2] Home Miscellaneous Vol. 584, pp. 22-57.

(2) Rs. 18,000 to be separated from the allowance and allotted partly for the payment of debt and partly for the formation of a fund for the support of the Nawab's increasing family.

(3) No interest to be paid to the creditors and those who agreed to compound for one half, one third, etc., were to be entitled to prior payment and thus, Ives thought, the whole debt would be discharged in 18 years.

(4) Pensions liable to be reduced or struck off were to be allotted partly to the Nawab's wardrobe and partly to the above fund.

(5) The Nawab was to disburse Rs. 82,334 per month according to a plan made out for him and was to be responsible to the government for any misappropriation.

The Nawab most strongly objected to these recommendations on the ground that (1) he would be degraded if his dependents were not paid by himself but by others, (2) he would be discredited in the eyes of his people if somebody else discharged his debts. "I myself," he wrote, "am the fittest person to pay my debts because I feel the encumbrance of them. Besides this, people will suppose that you suspect my integrity, if you do not suffer me to discharge my debts myself." Besides these objections, the letter was full of protest. Cornwallis made slight alterations in Ives' proposals in favour of the Nawab who was compelled to submit to them.

By 1792 the Paymaster of the allowance was able to report that he had effected a compromise with several of the Nawab's creditors, and that from 1788 to 1790 Rs. 9,10,522 were paid and that the remainder Rs. 11,77,821 would be paid in the next eleven years.

In the same year the Nawab again wrote to the Governor-General for an increase in his allowance, for a pension to his eldest son, for the restoration of his Diwan's and that of Munni Begum's allowances. He also complained about the diminution of his authority since the separation of the Faujdari Court from the Nizamat. Cornwallis, as usual, again refused to accede to any of his requests. This kind of correspondence went on without any effect till 1793 when in the month of September he died leaving[1] twelve sons and thirteen daughters.

His Character.

His position as a mere nominal Nawab of Bengal makes it unnecessary to discuss his character in his public capacity. Whatever little independenee or authority was left to the Nazim in the days of Mir Jafar had gradually passed away under the two successors of Mir Jafar, Najimuddaula (1765-66) and Saifuddaula (1766-70). Mubarokuddaula always remained under the tutelage of either Munni Begum or Reza Khan whom he detested and yet had to submit to them.

His character in his private capacity is best discussed by the author of Seir who says:

> "He is a very civil young man always speaking in friendly manner to any that approaches him. He seems particularly disposed to show a regard to such persons, whether men or women, as descend from illustrious families and is always ready to oblige them by word or by action or at least to compassionate their case. Naturally tender-hearted, he listens with patience to those that are unfortunate or oppressed and he is always disposed to relieve them. But his time is not well distributed; and he is always dissolved in all kinds of effeminating sports and always immersed in the pleasures of the tables or in the company of dance women; this is his whole care, being perfectly indifferent to anything else either in this world or in the other; his apathy being such, that no man is the gladder for his friendship, nor the uneasier or worse for his aversion. The very least of his slave boys or of those of his father's will............do in his presence whatever comes uppermost in his mind............ His very liberality is of a kin to the thoughtlessness of his character; there being nothing common than to see him give away where it is improper to give anything at all and to refuse obstinately where it is proper to give." [2]

This opinion of the author seems to be on the whole correct. Throughout his life he remained a dupe in the hands of others, while financial difficulties and the tutelage over him were the common features of his life. This verdict is corroborated by the opinion of Cornwallis who rightly called him "dupe of interested men who can approach him."

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[1] For the names of his children see Chapter II, p. 45 of "Murray's Correspondence," Seir, Vol. III, pp. 142-146.

[2] Seir, Vol. III, p. 82.

His financial difficulties were not entirely due to his own faults. First and foremost it has to be remembered, in the words of the author of Seir, "that the times were now become so corrupt that every man in Mubarakuddaula's household was addicted to infidelity and malversation" and had it in custom to reckon as fair booty "every rupee which he could embezzle out of his charge."[1] Secondly, the changes that had happened in the political conditions of Bengal had thrown the old incompetent aristocracy out of employment and they always looked to the Nazim for patronage. A good part of Mubarakuddaula's allowance was given away to such people. For instance, the Nawab had to grant a pension of Rs. 300 a month to the dependent of Mir Banday Ali Khan[2] at the recommendation of Col. Murray and it must be remembered that Banday Ali Khan was in the Company's service.

II. NASIR-UL-MULK, DILAR JANG, 1793-1810.[3]

He was the eldest son of Mubarakuddaula whom he succeeded on his death. The most important thing to remember in connection with his accession is that no formal *firman* or sanction of the titular Emperor was obtained just as had been done in the case of his predecessors. Sindhia who was at this time supreme at Delhi took this opportunity of protesting to the Company on behalf of the Emperor. The accession of the Nawab of Surat was also carried out in the same way and Sindhia's protests against these procedures were ignored. The[1] Directors in approving this attitude of the Bengal Government wrote:

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[1] Home Miscellaneous Vol. 584, p. 9.

[2] See notes on Banday Ali Khan. *Vide* Imtiaz Mohd Khan's "Correspondence of Col. Sir John Murray."

[3] "Letters received from Bengal," 14th December, 1793, paras. 71-74, Vol. XXXI.

> "........The recent instance of your having declined to solicit the King's confirmation of your appointment of Nasir-ul-Mulk to the Nabobship of Bengal must convince[2] Scindia and other members of the Marhatta state in how little estimation any pretensions founded on that office will be hereafter considered."

The ceremony of accession was performed on Wednesday the 18th September, 1793, and Harrington was instructed to continue payments of the allowance to the new Nawab. The Company's officials were asked to attend the ceremony. The proclamations were issued in Calcutta by the Sherif and at other places like Murshidabad, Qasimabazar, Fort William and the foreign settlements.

Soon after his accession Nasir-Ul-Mulk had to continue the old story of financial embarrassment. Perhaps his position was worse because the late Nawab had left a huge family of twenty-five sons and daughters who were all dependent on the allowance.

The scandals and mismanagements became worse and the Nawab began to show "some indications of a refractory disposition" and this violence against some of the old servants of the Nizamat compelled Shore to warn the Nawab in his letters of February and April, 1795, against such behaviour. These letters, which are to be found in Murray's[3] Correspondence (see pp. 30-40), contained strong warnings and also objections against the bad company the Nawab was keeping and the favours and titles which he was conferring on these interested advisers. But these warnings proved of no use and the Governor General now took serious steps to set the matters right. He delivered a Minute before the Council and proposed certain measures. The Minute read,

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[1] "Dispatches to Bengal," 5th June, 1795, paras. 178-179, Vol. XXVIII.

[2] Letters received from Bengal, October 27, 1793 and "Home Miscellaneous," Vol. 584, p. 480-485.

[3] Political Consultations, 1st February, 1796, pp. 185-199, Vol. 47, Range 115. India Office Records.

> [1] "It is now above months, since I had occasion to take notice of the conduct of the young Nabob Nasir-ul-Mulk, although there were then indications of a disposition not unlikely to produce.........mischievous and troublesome consequences, yet all allowances were to be made for a mere youth suddenly removed from the utmost confinement of a Zenana to his present situation.........
>
> "He has recently proceeded to personal violence to an old hereditary servant of respectable character and station, a Mutasaddi who has filled for upwards of thirty years the office of Peshkar to the Diwan......"

Consequent to this Minute the following measures were adopted:—

(1) The general control of the stipend was vested jointly in the Diwan of the Nizamat, on the part of the Nawab, a Mutasaddi on the part of Munni Begum and the Paymaster of the Nizamat on the part of the government. The money, exclusive of Rs. 12,000 for privy purse, was to be kept in charge of Tehvildar and officers who were up till then in charge of it. Three sets of monthly accounts of receipts and disbursements, under the Diwan's seal and signature, were to be made out, one set to be delivered to the Nawab, one to Begum and one to the Paymaster.

(2) All the old servants of the Nizamat in any important position and who had been removed since the death of Mubarakuddaula (except those removed for misconduct or unfitness) were to be restored for the present. The Paymaster was to inquire into the causes of their removal and report to the government.

(3) No head officers, Tehvildar, Serishtedar, Mutasaddi or Moharrir of long standing in any of the departments (privy purse excepted), through which the stipend passed in its appropriation was liable to removal without a previous

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[1] Imtiaz Mohamad Khan, "Correspondence of Col. Murray."

representation to Governor General to be made through the Paymaster giving the ground for removal.

(4) All new pensions or incision of old ones since the commencement of the plan of 1790[1] were suspended and the fund for payment was to be ascertained.

(5) Paymaster was to pay particular attention to obtain[2] information if any pension had been granted by the private influence of Europeans whether before or after 1790 and in either case it was to be suspended. But if the ground for the grant of each pension was good, it was to be restored.

(6) Mir Saman (head steward) was dismissed and the post was abolished and all the duties of the Mir Saman were to be performed, as they had always been, by the Peshkar.

(7) Shamsuddaula who was regarded as the chief, if not the sole, instigator of the young Nawab and who acted himself with the authority of Naib Nazim, was ordered to remove to his brother Nasrat Jang at Dacca and one month was allowed him to make preparation for the journey.[3] He was further prohibited from issuing any order to any official of the Nizamat. The European servants of the Company were prohibited from receiving any visit from him.

(8) The whole establishment was revised by the Paymaster jointly with the Nawab and the Begum for the purpose of reducing them to the standard of the plan of 1790 and for making retrenchments in order to make provision for the recently married children of the late Nawab.

(9) The supply of saltpetre to the Nawab was discontinued on the grounds of abuse in its application.

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[1] See notes on Mubarak-ud-Daula.

[2] The pension to Banday Ali Khan's family granted by the influence of Murray must have been in this category. See notes on Banday Ali Khan and also Mubarakud-daula's letter to Murray, p. 100.

[3] See notes on Shamsuddaula who defied the order and did not remove to Dacca.

The helpless Nawab[1] had to give his unwilling consent to these regulations which carried away from him whatever little authority was left to him over his household. In the meanwhile the work of paying debts was going on and by 1796 only about five and a half lakhs of rupees were left to be paid.

In 1797 Thomas Pattle who was a judge and magistrate at Burdwan was transferred to Murshidabad as Judge and was made the Paymaster of the stipend, but at the order of the Directors he was removed for being too inexperienced for this post. Next year the post of the Stipend Paymaster was abolished and the Collector of Murshidabad was given the charge of this department. But, after some time, it was found that there was nobody to serve as an intermediary between the Nawab and the government. Wellesley, therefore, again appointed Thomas Pattle without any additional salary.

Wellesley[2] found the plan of 1790 for paying Nawab's debts and also the general arrangements of the Nizamat as defective, because according to this plan there was no provision for contingencies. The Nawab's palace was falling into decay and repairs were badly needed. With these objects, the Governor General appointed a committee composed of three Judges of the Court of Appeal and Circuit at Murshidabad and also the Collector of that place. This committee was

(1) "to enter on a complete revision of every part of the existing arrangement for the purpose of suggesting such retrenchments in the expenditure or such alterations in the appropriation of the stipend as may be found to be practicable and adequate,

(2) to arrange for the payment of the late and the present Nawab's debts,

(3) to arrange for the gradual repayment of the sum to be advanced by the government for the repair of the Nawab's palace,

(4) to provide for a fund for the maintenance of the younger children of the late Nawab and the children of the present Nawab and for the

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[1] Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 584, pp. 58-82.

[2] Political Consultations, 7th January, 1802, Range 117, Vol. 24.

marriage of the late Nawab's unmarried daughters and for their support when married,

(5) to arrange for a more adequate provision for some of the relatives of the late and the present Nawab, some of whom could not provide themselves with the necessities of life,[1]

(6) to provide a surplus fund for the repair of the Imambara and the palace and for contingencies."

The Nawab had to submit to the orders of his masters.

A vivid description of the Nawab is given by Lord Valentia who saw him at Murshidabad in 1804. The following extract from his *Travels*,[2] though lengthy, is rather interesting :—

> "He is rather a handsome-looking young man and was plainly dressed in white muslin, with a rich string of emeralds round his neck......He spoke but little and is, I understand, a very reserved man. He inquired my age, where I had been, and when I meant to return home ; but there was a considerable pause between each question."
>
> "His Highness thinks it beneath his dignity to marry any woman of this country ; and the princesses of the upper provinces have heard too much of his poverty to be desirous of the connexion ; indeed the expense of bringing a wife down would be more than he can afford......"

The jewels which he was wearing when he came to visit Valentia

> "were only taken out of pawn for the occasion, and the people who had them in pledge were present to watch and receive them again on his departure."

After seeing the Nawab a second time Valentia modified his opinion. He writes :

> "My opinion of him has improved much to-day. I was prepossessed in his favour, by hearing that his private character is amiable and his disposition benevolent.
>
> "The conduct of the East India Company to the descendants of Meer Jaffer has been by no means generous. When they first became Dewan

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[1] "Letters received from Bengal," February 27, 1802, Vol. 42, paras 61-67.

[2] Vol. I. pp. 228-230 (edition 1809).

of Bengal in 1775......the allowance to the Nawab was fixed at fifty-three lakhs of rupees. In 1770 they induced his successor to submit to a reduction of 23 lakhs ; but not satisfied with this, the Directors in the following year ordered that only sixteen lakhs should be paid, probably considering that a sufficient allowance for a boy of ten years old.......The sixteen lakhs now allowed are distributed among the descendants of Meer Jaffer, his Begums and faithful servants. The Munni Begum has twelve thousand rupees per month. The present Nawab's grandmother has eight thousand rupees per month. These sums with the allowances to the branches of the family living at Calcutta and to the aged servants, leave only to His Highness seventy-seven thousand rupees per month to defray the expense of his Zenana, Durbar and guards and twelve thousand rupees per month for his private amusements and presents. The latter sum would be fully sufficient were he not loaded with debt, the interest of which eats up the whole and leaves him in the greatest distress..."

There is a good deal of truth in these accusations against the Company and the only way to justify the Company's attitude is to point out the dissipated and extravagant habits of the Nawab whose vices would have increased with an augmentation of the allowance.

His Character.

Like his father, Nasir-ul-Mulk, too, can be judged only in his private capacity because as the Nazim his position had become even more dependent than that of his father. Unfortunately, even in his private capacity, it is not possible to spare him from a severe criticism for his private character, though he might have been, according to Valentia, "amiable and benevolent in disposition." But it has to be remembered that the very nature of his position—powerful without direct responsibility—could not but produce this inevitable result. Wherever the independence of the aristocracy has been crushed, they have degenerated, because it is the necessity of defending their power and independence that keeps them alert and energetic. Ali Verdi Khan who had to defend himself against the Marhathas and a score of other enemies who had sprung up in the 18th century after the collapse of the Moghul Empire had to be active. In the same way, this degeneration is to be noticed in the case of the Oudh Kingdoms, the early rulers of which were far more energetic than their degenerated descendants like Sadat Ali or Wajid Ali Shah. The same phenomenon is to be observed in other countries wherever the aristocracy has stood as a class in itself. In France the aristocracy degenerated when the centralizing policy initiated by Richelieu and Mazarin was completed by Louis XIV and this degeneration of the aristocracy was to be noticed in the French Revolution.

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN

RAILWAY FINANCE

The first Railways that came into existence in the world were the outcome of private enterprise, which financed, built and managed the Railways. The entire risk or responsibility for finance was of the Companies, formed by private individuals without any monetary help from the government.

Although the benefits to a country, where Railways are made, are great, no credit is given to Railways for anything else than what they earn by carriage of passengers and goods. Through the advent of Railways the Government or the public treasury receives taxes from industries, which again could not exist were it not for Railways. The increased value of land, the gain to the cultivators by greater sale of their products, and consequent gain to the merchants, and increased land revenue to the Government all come through Railways; and, further, in calculating the benefits, which accrue owing to coming of Railways the difference between the price actually paid by the consumers and the price which they would have had to pay had the goods been carried by roads, by carts or horse-waggons ought to be taken into account as well. Moreover, the state gets concessional rates of carriage for conveyance of mails, Government stores, military traffic, and thus though Railways may be provided out of private funds, and through private or joint stock companies, the benefits to a country through Railways are manifold.

In Great Britain, the Railway promotors, who built the first Railways in the world, were private individuals and had formed companies for purposes of financing, building and managing the Railways. They received no financial assistance from the Government either in the shape of an advance of a portion of the money on account of capital, or loans, or a guarantee of minimum dividend on the money invested by the companies. On the other hand, they had to spend large sums of money in their endeavours to get the bills sanctioning the Railways passed through the Houses of Parliament, and, in buying land required for the building of Railways. The compensation the Railways had to pay to the land owners was very heavy.

In certain countries, however, the Government granted advances of money on account of capital or gave loans, and when Railways were opened and began to earn money the first charge against annual Railway nett earnings (*viz.*, gross earnings minus the working expenses) was the yearly instalment payable to the Government on account of redemption of loans or advances. In other countries, the Government gave free gifts of land to Railway companies in the commencement of the Railway era, and in certain countries the private investors, or companies, received assurance of a guaranteed minimum dividend, and, whenever there was a deficit between the dividend obtainable on the actual nett receipts and the minimum percentage of dividend guaranteed, the deficit was made good by the Government. In many cases, Railways provided out of Government funds were made over to companies for purposes of working, and the contracts were so drawn as to make the lessor and the lessee of the Railways into real partners, both possessing an interest in the steady advance of the business and in the nett revenues of the concern.

A Railway founded by a private concern is run more or less exactly on the same lines as a joint stock company owned industrial concern, and a Railway company looks to a steady and advancing return on the capital outlay. A sound property, a stable financial policy and efficient management are essenital factors of success, and to ensure continued success of a permanent nature it is necessary that all repairs and renewals to a property should be made in time, and, also that extensions to and improvements in the property, to meet ever-increasing demands of public needs, should be effected in due time. It is necessary for all these purposes to provide for adequate reserves and depreciation funds, the latter to meet expenses of such renewals and repairs as are required from time to time and are due to ordinary wear and tear and age, and the former to provide for emergencies and substantial and extensive improvements. A reserve fund and a depreciation fund on an adequate scale avoid debts or raising of further capital when repairs, renewals and substantial improvements to an existing property become due. Of course, to provide for improvements or additions of a very substantial nature, involving the spending of large sums of money, new or further capital has to be raised or loans have to be incurred and in the case of the latter provision of sinking funds, to repay the loans, when their redemption becomes due, also becomes necessary.

It is a false gain when large dividends are declared without any provision being made for reserve, depreciation or sinking funds, and when such is the case it is certain that at not a very distant date either there will be no dividends at all, at least for some years, or large loans will have to be incurred for the rehabilitation of the Railway property which will mean inflation of capital expenditure or of the loan account and will, consequently, mean very low dividends. It is, therefore, much the best thing to have the Railway property always kept up-to-date and in a thorough state of repairs and to have funds provided out of the Revenues to meet renewals and improvements. If these were done the result will be that there will be a steady dividend which may not be very large in the beginning, but if the bulk of the repairs, renewals and improvements are provided out of revenue, the natural and eventual result will be a higher dividend in the long run, because more traffic will be carried and more money will be earned though improvements and additions made out of depreciation and reserve funds created out of the revenue instead of by the raising of any fresh capital or out of loans.

Now the Railways of U. S. A. are commercial concerns of gigantic magnitude. Let us see how they were financed. In the case of company owned Railways of U. S. A. the position was described to be as follows :—

> "The Railways of U. S. A. may be broadly divided into two classes, namely —
>
> (A) Those in which the shares are held by numerous stock holders, none of whom has a preponderating interest in the property.
>
> (B) Those in which a preponderating number of shares is held by a few individuals."

When the preponderating interest in a Railway or an industrial concern is held by a few rich financiers, it may so happen, and in some cases it does happen, that they charge most of the (and even expensive) improvements to revenue or income account, and the balance sheets of such Railways naturally do not show handsome dividends, which, however, may not always be the case when stock holders are numerous and have most of their savings invested in several industrial concerns and are dependent to a large extent on the dividends they can get from these investments. In the latter case the tendency is to ask for larger dividends. The advantage of the former is that owing to a few millionaires controlling the destinies of a concern they can afford to be content with smaller dividends per unit, at least in the stage when large sums are needed for improvements, betterments, etc. Thus the public get a sound and improved property, the business of which is to render service to the public. And as all this is effected without much increase in capital expenditure the tendency is to look to small profit per unit and to charge cheap rates and fares, in order to attract a large amount of business so that small profit per unit, repeated several times, on a big amount of business may bring in a large gain in the long run.

But there are evils of such monopoly because it takes out of the hands of the public control of works of great public utility. For instance, in U. S. A. the Railways and other industries have fallen into the hands of a few persons who have grown fabulously rich. It is true that the Americans as a nation are richer than any other, but it is also true at the same time that the number of millionaires and multi-millionaires in that country are the effects of monopolistic financial groups. They own the financial banks, which in their turn, finance the local banks and industries and the Railway capital is controlled to a large extent by such groups. At one time the "trusts" were regarded as a source of great danger because the tendency of such trusts was to dominate the business of the country. Thus in spite of democracy in the Government of U. S. A. there is a sort of autocracy in business concerns in that country. Safeguards have, however, been provided, and the Federal Government has got very strict and powerful control over the rates and fares of and service rendered by the Railways and the control is exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

A Railway being public concern, or rather a concern of great public utility, it is recognised throughout the world that the Government should exercise some sort of control and check over the finances of a Railway with a view to see that its financial condition is sound, because unless the financial condition of Railways is sound they could neither render good service nor give cheap rates and fares for a continuous period. First and foremost, it is important that a Railway is not expensively built nor is it advisable that a Railway should be built so cheaply as not to be able to render that service which it is expected to give to the public. Then it is equally important to see that the Railway management and operation are not extravagant and that there is sufficient money to meet its obligations—*i.e.*, such obligations as should be met out of income. No money in a Railway can be said to have been wisely spent unless there is a direct profit on the money invested, and, therefore, the actual requirements of a Railway and the money that would be necessary to fulfil all such requirements should be very properly estimated, and the construction of a Railway should never be allowed to be started unless and until there is a security that all the money that would be required to build and equip the Railway, according to estimates already prepared, would be readily and timely available, or else the successful completion of the enterprise would be endangered. And, above all, it is essential that estimates of the traffic, that the Railway would get to carry, and of the earnings should be carefully made out, and it should be seen that there is no optimism about these. This having been done, the next important thing is to see that, in the preparation of 'construction estimates' of a Railway, all expenditure on costly elaborations and on non-productive works are avoided. According to the views of some of the American Economists, substantially built tracks, or say double set of rails, for up and down traffic, heavy structures and buildings should be kept in abeyance, and temporary, cheaper and lighter things might be provided instead, unless it is certain that the expenditure on more substantial and heavier lines and structures would be more than repaid by the Railway getting as much traffic as it would want to pay for such expenditure in the near future. But at the same time it is to be carefully observed that there is no false economy which would entail heavy expenditure in the long run, such as bad alignment of a Railway, (which does not directly serve important towns or marts) in order to avoid heavy expenditure on land or heavy embankments or cuttings etc.

In short, the success of a Railway depends first on the judgment formed, as the result of very careful investigation, in the selection of the route of the Railway and the part of the country through which this Railway would be built, and, secondly, on the skill with which the Railway is built with the intention of securing the maximum amount of traffic expected to be carried in the near future with minimum of expenditure in carrying that traffic.

One can do no better than to quote the following from Wellington's Economic Theory of Railway Location :—

> "In other words, reduction of first cost to the lowest possible point is, in logical or economic order, the first consideration; although therefore not by any means either the most important or the governing consideration. That this is so is easily seen, however often forgotten. It is not only business-like common-sense for the investors and their servants, but it is sound political economy for the community as a whole. It does not mean nor imply cheap and shabby construction. It simply means AN AVOIDANCE OF WASTE, either in saving money or spending it. It simply means a recognition of the fact that every dollar and every day's work which goes into the ground and does not bring something out of it, makes not only the individual but the whole community the poorer. The welfare of all mankind, as well as of investors in the enterprises which employ engineers, depends upon the skill with which the investment in its constructive or manufacturing enterprises (destruction of existing capital) is kept small, and the productive or earning power (creation of new capital) is made large. The difference between the two is the so-called "profit" (net addition to existing-capital), which goes indeed into the control of those who created it by perceiving the (supposed) opportunity or necessity and using their own means at their own risk to supply it; but it is not, therefore, for the true interest of any person or class to make it less by increasing the investment, for otherwise there is waste which, as it benefits no one, indirectly injures all. Not even the labourer who uses up a portion of the wasted capital is really the gainer; for if, on the one hand, the capital spent (*i.e.*, destroyed) for construction or plant be needlessly large, although the poor man gains, for the time being, wages which he would not otherwise receive from that particular enterprise, yet it is as if he were paid wages to turn a crank which ground no grist—his time and his work go for not. If he spend half his time in this way he must, in the long run, do two days' work for the wages of one—a condition—which is nearer to existing in Railway enterprises than is always realised or admitted.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> On the other hand, if the proper margin of profit has been reduced by reckless and costly economies, no one gains even the semblance of benefit,

while both the projectors and the patrons of the enterprise are heavy losers—the projectors in money, the patrons in convenient service.

These two vital truths, therefore, which directly result from what has preceded, should never be forgotten; that because a line will have or is expected to have a prosperous future (because, perhaps, it is to be built by the State for great reasons of State or for any other reason it will have plenty of money in the treasury) there is, therefore, no justification in that fact alone for making it a costly road as well.

On the other hand, no road is so poor that it can afford to economize when certain additional expenditure will be clearly very profitable."

Having so far touched the general aspect of Railway Finance, mainly from Railway and Commercial points of view it would now be useful if we next come to the question of Railway Finance in India, which had peculiar conditions of its own. The Railways made in India were, in the first instance, the property of the British Companies constructing them to whom the Court of Directors of the late East India Company and the Secretary of State for India had from time to time granted leases of the land required for their undertakings, usually for ninety-nine years, with the option of buying the property of most of the companies at the end of twenty-five years after the dates of the contracts. The Government had also undertaken to pay to the Companies in London, during their leases, interest at fixed rates (usually five per cent.) on their capital. The contracts with these companies provided that the sums paid by Government in excess of the nett traffic receipts on account of guarantee of interest should be treated as a debt, due to Government, to the repayment of which, with simple interest at 5 per cent., one moiety of any nett earnings in excess of the guranteed interest was to be applied. But many years elapsed before the nett earnings of any one Railway amounted to the figure of guaranteed interest, so that large arrears of interest due to Government accumulated which had to be cancelled at the time of purchase of the Railways by the Government.

Government also undertook to receive all receipts and pay all disbursements of the companies in India in rupees, accounting to the companies in England in sterling at the following fixed rates of exchange :—

Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway	2s per Rupee
South Indian Railway	1s. 11d. per Rupee
All the rest	1s. 10d. per Rupee

The loss to Government on account of the actual and contract rates of exchange proved considerable. Above all, the Government was bound to pay a fixed rate of interest, whatever were the outlay and the results of the undertakings. There was thus no incentive to the companies to look to economy in constructing or working the Railways. As these terms proved very onerous and disadvantageous to Government, the earliest opportunity was taken by Government to avail itself of the provisions of the contracts under which those lines could be purchased either by cash payment or by means of annuities terminable after a number of years. At the time of purchase premiums to the extent of 20 to 25 per cent. over and above the par value of the shares had to be paid to the companies and this inflated the Capital expenditure now shown in the capital account of the Indian Railways. Although the North Western, the Oudh & Rohilkhand and the E. B. Railway were retained, after their purchase, to be worked by direct State agencies, most of the other Railways such as the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, the Bombay Baroda and the Madras Railways were entrusted back to working companies under fresh contracts, the terms of which were much more favourable to Government than were in the case of the old guaranteed companies. The position of Government with respect to these companies was that Government was the owner and lessor of the lines and the companies were the working agents or lessees.

The broad features of the fresh contracts entered into such companies were :—

(1) That the company were to have a small amount of share capital in the concern on which interest at rates varying from 2 to 3½ per cent. was guaranteed by the Secretary of State out of the revenues of India,

(2) that in addition the company were to receive a small share of the surplus profit earned by the Railway after meeting all payments for interest on the capital at charge, such share being based either on some fixed proportion or on the amount of capital contributed by the Government and the company, respectively; this arrangement gave incentive to the companies to so work the Railways and to develop the traffic as to be able to earn surplus profits,

(3) that all transactions were to be taken into account at the actual rate of exchange of 1s. 4d. to the Rupee,

(4) that the company were to keep the undertaking, its rolling stock, etc., in thorough repair and in good working condition to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State,

(5) that on the termination of the contract Government were to repay to the working Company the amount of its share Capital *at par*.

It would thus be seen that Government, in addition to their interest in the correct division of profits, were also concerned to see that the property of which they were the owners was kept in good condition and repair, and that all fresh capital put into the line was profitably and economically spent.

Besides the Railways purchased from the old British Companies some Railways had been originally built by the State, while others were built by Companies mostly out of funds provided for by Government. The former were known as State owned and State built Railways and the latter as "assisted Railways"; in most cases both were leased to

Companies for working on somewhat the same terms as those mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs.

After date of purchase of Railways by Government and in respect of the other lines just mentioned money for capital expenditure was provided for by Government as follows:—

(1) Out of surplus of general revenues of Government and cash balances.

(2) By raising of capital by Government in Rupee loan in India; or by Sterling loan in England; or

(3) By issue of the debentures in England on the guarantee of the Secretary of State for India.

(4) Savings Bank Deposits.

(5) Appropriation from Famine Grant for avoidance of debt.

(6) Half profits on Rupee coinage.

It might be explained here that there was a difference between ordinary debentures and Indian Railway debentures issued in England. Debentures ordinarily mean a borrowing on mortgage of property to the extent of the borrowing but in the case of Indian Railway debentures there is no mortgage of the particular Railway property in respect of which debentures were issued.

The debentures were, however, guaranteed by the Secretary of State for India. So the debenture holders had a greater security than even the mortgage of Railway property. They had the security of the Secretary of State for India, consequently of India and her resources.

Now to deal with the allocation of expenses between Capital and Revenue as it used to be some years ago. In regard to allocation of funds between Capital and Revenue accounts the principle laid down was that the capital account was to bear the cost of new works, of additional rolling stock, plant and machinery, and substantial improvements or of additions to old works, rolling stock, plant or machinery, including the cost of any temporary new work, the construction of which was necessary for the construction of the work chargeable to the capital, all repairs and renewals being generally charged to the Revenue Account. The allocation in detail was carried on the following lines :—

The expense of an additional length of Railway, or the doubling of an existing line, the original construction of any work, including that of those intended to be only temporary, as well as of all additions to existing work was charged to Capital account.

When new lines formed a junction with an old Railway, the expense of the junction and all its accompanying appliances of stations, sidings, signals, etc , was chargeable to Capital account.

The cost of additional stations and of any important building not previously contemplated, which was added to an existing station was charged to Capital account. The cost of maintaining in a proper condition the works, when completed, was charged to the Revenue account; but if any extraordinary casualty did occur, such as the destruction of a bridge by flood, the case was regarded as exceptional and the cost of construction or replacement was charged to capital or revenue, or divided between them as was deemed proper according to the circumstances of the case. In relaying rails, if the original rails proved too light, and additional strength in weight of rails was required the Capital account had to bear the difference between the cost of the new and improved rails, and that of replacing the old rails by rails of singular character, revenue being chargeable for relaying and all other expenses. The same principle was applied to replacing by iron sleepers those of wood originally laid down. The proportionate increase on the weight basis or the difference in cost, whichever was less, under existing rules was charged to capital.

In the case of locomotives and rolling stock, capital bore the first expense of any addition which was made to the existing stock, and of any important improvement or alteration which may be made in the same, as well as of all machinery which was absolutely new, and not merely in replacement of old; but all repairs and less important alteration of the existing stock of engines, carriages, or waggons already paid for and handed over for working purposes was charged to revenue. The rolling stock and plant, after being once paid for from capital, was kept up by revenue to its full compliment. Of late the Railway policy in India has passed through and is yet passing through revolution, and drastic changes have taken and are taking place. With the taking over by Government of the working of the East India and of the G.I.P. Railways, there now remain only 4 or 5 State owned trunk lines (the B. B. & C. I., the M. & S. M., the S. I., the B. N. R., and the Assam Bengal Railway) which are yet worked by companies as lessees but the ownership and financial responsibility lie with the Government of India.

We will next deal with the recent financial policy of the Government of India in regard to State Railways. For years, the question of separation of the Railway Budget from the General Budget was before the Government, the Railway and the public, but for various reasons this separation could not be effected. In the meanwhile the Railway expenditure, and consequently Railway improvements, trade and industry suffered and even repairs to Railways were not carried out in time for want of funds and the property depreciated in many respects. Moreover owing to lapses of yearly grants sometimes works taken in hand were left unfinished or there were losses due to anxiety to spend money before the sanction lapsed. Finally the question was taken up by the Acworth Railway Committee and the reasons advanced by the committee for the separation of the Railway Budget were briefly as follows :—

The following is a quotation from Appendix CC of Railway Board Administration Report for 1923-24.

> " (i) That it was impossible to provide for the proper development and efficient working of a continuous commercial concern by means of an Annual Budget system which implied that the concern went out of business on the 31st March and started again on the 1st April ; that even allowing for exemption from the principle of lapses at the close of each year, Railway Budgets, if incorporated in the general revenue, must in large measure assume the periodical rigidity of the Central Budget and share in the vicissitudes of general Revenues, whereas in a commercial undertaking like Railways it is of the first importance that expansion and contraction of expenditure should follow on a more elastic basis—the policy and financial circumstances of the Railways themselves without undue limitations in regard to periods and dates.
>
> (ii) That, so long as the two budgets were combined, there was always the risk that Railways should come to be subsidised out of general revenues.
>
> (iii) That, conversely, since a considerable portion of Railway expenditure recurs in cycles, the whole of the excess of revenue expenditure in years in which expenditure is low is diverted to meeting the cost of other heads of expenditure and no reserve is kept to meet the heavy Railway expenditure in years when expenditure is high.
>
> (iv) That the Railways can only be expected to work to a definite nett return over a period of years and that this involves the complete separation of their budget.
>
> (v) That from the point of view of the central budget, the inevitable fluctuations of Railway revenue are a seriously disturbing factor and that separation is the only means of securing some measure of stability."

The Acworth Committee gave several instances of the way in which the profitable development of Indian Railways had been hampered, and in order to meet these difficulties so far as they relate to capital expenditure the Railway Finance Committee which was created after the issue of the Acworth Committee's Report, recommended and the Assembly after examining the local conditions and the recommendations of the Acworth Committee agreed, that a definite amount of capital expenditure should be guaranteed to the Railways over a period of 5 years at a time.

Further, in order to eliminate the retarding effect of the old system under which there were lapses of sanctions and there were no depreciation funds for the proper re-habilitation of Railways, the position was recommended to be improved by having a depreciation fund. But it was admitted that the fund would not in itself provide a complete solution. It provided merely for the replacement of existing materials that were depreciating after they had attained their normal life, but there were other things to be considered, for example, ·it is known that economies could be effected by introducing heavier rails, engines, high capacity waggons, etc., and it often became consequently necessary to scrap the existing material before the end of its normal life. A part of this expenditure was properly debitable to "Revenue" and could not be met entirely either from capital or from a depreciation fund. In any case it was found not very practicable to start a depreciation fund to be of any good use unless provision was made for the arrear accumulation of such a fund which should have been built up from the revenue of previous years. To use the words of the Railway Board,

> "It would not however be convenient for the general revenue to provide the arrears at the present time or to forego all revenue from the Railways until these arrears have been paid up in full, while, on the other hand, the Railway Administration have little to gain from the immediate payment in one lump sum of the money which will only be required and can only be used over a period of years. The only method, under the circumstances of providing for the institution of a depreciation fund is to allow for the obligation to make good these depreciation reserves from the revenue of future years in determining the arrangement to be made with the Railway Administration."

Next to come to the revenue or operating expenses which is largely affected by conditions of traffic which cannot always be foreseen. As to receipts, that is the income, the separation of budgets, *viz.*, of the Railway Budget from the General Budget of the Government of India, was necessary. The whole object of the Railway Budget was to make the

Railways self-supporting and workable as proper commercial undertakings so that while they would be able to pay their own way as to expenses, interest on loans, to create depreciation, sinking and reserve funds, they should at the same time be able to so fix the rates and fares and to so improve and expand the Railway service in India as to meet all the increasing demands of the public, and this could only be done with complete freedom on the part of the Railways to regulate the rates, service and expenditure according to circumstances as they arose from year to year.

The only objection raised by the Acworth Committee to the separation of the Railway Budget was stated in paragraph 80 of their Report. The Secretary of State in the year 1900 had said that so long as the Railway depended for money on Government, they must necessarily share in the vicissitudes of the public finances. While it was admitted that money for Indian Railways, that are the property of the State, should continue to be raised by the Central Government, and not by the Railways individually or by a new machinery to be appointed by the Railway Board, this should not have affected any scheme for the separation of the Budget. But it was true, however, that with the separation, the Railways must find from their own earnings the monies required for the fulfilment of their liabilities, including their liability in respect of loans, "no matter what agency was employed to raise the loan." Then as to the creation of State Railway reserve fund it was also to be agreed upon that at times of financial emergency the State must reserve for itself the right to use any part or whole of the Railway reserves, to restrict Railway borrowings or to curtail Railway expenditure. What the Railway Board pointed out was:

> "The fact that the fate of the Railway is necessarily involved in the fate of the State does not seem to constitute an objection to the separation of the Budgets as a normal arrangement for ordinary times."

They further observed,

> " A similar reserve power of raiding provincial finances in times of stress has been provided in Devolution Rule 19, but this has in no way affected the independence of the provinces in the framing of their budgets."

What was aimed at by the separation of the Railway Budget was

> " That the Railways should be as free as possible to manage their own affairs and be responsible for their own finance."

But it was admitted that State ownership of Indian Railways involved the imposition of certain restraints because of the relation in which the Railways stood to the public finances, to the Legislature, to the other branches of the administration, and to the Secretary of State. For the above reasons and also in view of the fact that the Railways of India were for many years not a financial success and the State suffered losses it was necessary that along with control on the part of the Assembly on Railway Finance (*i.e.*, such control as the Assembly in its present stage can exercise under its powers and functions) the Railways should contribute something to the General Exchequer.

The Acworth Committee recommended in paragraphs 74 and 75 of their Report that the Railways should pay to the Exchequer not more than the annual interst on the debt incurred by the State for Railway purposes.

Finally, on 20th September, 1924 in order to relieve the general budget from the violent fluctuations caused by the incorporation therein of the Railway estimates and to enable Railways to carry out a continuous Railway policy based on the necessity of making a definite return to general revenues on the money expended by the State on Railways, the Legislative Assembly passed and adopted the following Resolution which is being acted upon—

" (1) The Railway finances shall be separated from the general finances of the country and the general revenue shall receive a definite annual contribution from Railways which shall be the first charge on the nett receipts of Railways.

(2) The contribution shall be based on the capital at charge and working results of commercial lines, and shall be a sum equal to one per cent. on the capital at charge of commercial lines (excluding capital contributed by companies and Indian States) at the end of the penultimate financial year plus one fifth of any surplus profits remaining after payment of this fixed return, subject to the condition that, if in any year Railway revenues are insufficient to provide the percentage of one per cent. on the capital at charge surplus profits in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have accrued for purposes of division until such deficiency has been made good.

The interest on the capital at charge of, and the loss in working strategic lines shall be borne by general revenues and shall consequently be deducted from the contribution so calculated in order to arrive at the nett amount payable from Railway to general revenues each year.

(3) Any surplus remaining after this payment to general revenues shall be transferred to a Railway reserve ; provided that if the amount available for transfer to the Railway reserve exceeds in any year three crores of rupees only twothirds of the excess over three crores shall be transferred to the Railway reserve and the remaining one-third shall accrue to general revenues.

(4) The Railway reserve shall be used to secure the payment of the annual contribution to general revenues ; to provide, if necessary, for arrears of depreciation and for writing down and writing off capital ; and to strengthen the financial position of Railways in order that the services rendered to the public may be improved and rates may be reduced.

(5) The Railway administration shall be entitled' subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Government of India, to borrow temporarily from the capital or from the reserves for the purpose of meeting expenditure for which

there is no provision or insufficient provision in the revenue budget subject to the obligation to make repayment of such borrowings out of the revenue budgets of subsequent years.

(6) A Standing Finance Committee for Railways shall be constituted consisting of one nominated official member of the Legislative Assembly who should be chairman and eleven members elected by the Legislative Assembly from their body. The members of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways shall be *ex-officio* members of the Central Railway Advisory Council, which shall consist, in addition of not more than one further nominated official member, six non-official members selected from a panel of eight elected by the Council of State from their body and six non-official members selected from a panel of eight elected by the Legislative Assembly from their body.

The Railway Department shall place the estimate of Railway expenditure before the Standing Finance Committee for Railways on some date prior to the date for the discussion of the demand for grants for Railways and shall, as far as possible instead of the expenditure programme revenue, show the expenditure under a depreciation fund created as per the new rules for charge to capital and revenue.

(7) The Railway Budget shall be presented to the Legislative Assembly, if possible, in advance of the General Budget, and separate days shall be allotted for its discussion, and the Member in charge of Railways shall then make a general statement on Railway accounts and working. The expenditure proposed in the Railway Budget, including expenditure from the depreciation fund and the Railway Reserve, shall be placed before the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants. The form the Budget assumes after separation, the details, it gives, the number of demands for grants into which the total votes are divided, shall all be considered by the Railway Board in consultation with the

proposed Standing Finance Committee for Railways with a view to the introduction of improvements in time for the next budget, if possible.

(8) These arrangements shall be subject to periodic revision but shall be provisionally tried for at least three years.

(9) In view of the fact that the Assembly adheres to the resolution passed in February, 1923, in favour of State management of Indian Railways, these arrangements shall hold good only so long as the East Indian Railways, and the Great Indian Peninsnla Railway and existing State managed Railways remain under State management. But if in spite of the Assembly's resolution above referred to Government should enter on any negotiations for the transfer of any of the above Railways to Company management such negotiations shall not be concluded until facilities have been given for a discussion of the whole matter in the Assembly. If any contract for transfer of any of the above Railways to Company Management is concluded against the advice of the Assembly, the Assembly will be at liberty to terminate the arrangements in this resolution.

Apart from the above convention this Assembly further recommends :—

(*i*) That the railway services should be rapidly Indianised, and further that Indians should be appointed as members of the Railway Board as early as possible, and

(*ii*) that the purchases of stores for the State Railways should be undertaken through the organisation of the Stores Purchase Department of the Government of India."

The revised rules governing the allocation of expenditure to capital to the depreciation fund and to revenue account are as follows: (This is a quotation from Appendix D of The Railway Board Administration Report for 1924-25.)

"1. Capital bears:

(*i*) the first cost of construction and equipment of the line;

(*ii*) the cost of maintaining a section of the line not opened for working;

(*iii*) the cost of any addition to the line or the equipment of the line when estimated to cost more than Rs. 2,000, except of a temporary or experimental work;

(*iv*) any excess in the cost of replacing a work or article of equipment (except a temporary or experimental work or a work originally estimated to cost Rs. 2,000 or less) over the cost at debit to capital of the work or article replaced.

NOTE 1.—If a temporary or experimental work is replaced by a permanent work, the whole cost of the permanent is charged to capital, if estimated to cost more than Rs. 2,000.

NOTE 2.—The total cost of replacing a work originally estimated to cost Rs. 2,000 or less is charged to capital, if estimated to be over Rs. 2,000.

(*v*) The cost of any appointments specifically created for the supervision or construction of a work chargeable to capital, and a proportionate share of the cost of any such appointments, where the cost of work is chargeable partly to capital and partly to the depreciation fund or to revenue.

(*vi*) The cost of land.

2. Capital is credited with:

(*i*) the difference between the cost at debit to capital of a replaced work or article and the cost of replacement, where the cost of replacement is less than the cost at debit to capital;

(*ii*) the cost at debit to capital of any work or article of equipment which is abandoned or disposed of without being replaced.

3. The depreciation fund bears:

(*i*) the original cost of any of the units shown under the following classes of assets when a unit is replaced:

Class of Asset.	Normal life.	Unit.
	Years.	
1. Bridge-work—Steel work...	60	1. An entire span of girders. 2. Steel work on an individual bridge originally costing more than Rs. 10,000.
2. Bridge-work—Masonry ...	125	An entire abutment pier, or arch.
3. Permanent way—Rails and fastenings including points and crossings.	60	Rails and fastenings, points and crossings.
4. Permanent way—Sleepers—Wood.	15	Sleepers, wood.
5. Permanent way—Sleepers—Cast-iron and ferro concrete.	40	Sleepers, cast iron and ferro concrete.
6. Permanent way—Sleepers—Steel trough.	30	Sleepers steel trough.
7. Buildings—Masonry ...	200	1. An entire building. 2. A part of a building when the part originally cost more than Rs. 25,000.
8. Buildings—All others ...	50	1. An entire building. 2. A part of a building when the part originally cost more than Rs. 25,000.
9. Station machinery ...	40	An entire unit of station machinery.
10. Plant ...	20	An entire unit of plant or an entire machine. *Note.*—Loose hand tools do not constitute a unit.
11. Ferries ...	40	An entire vessel, engine or boiler.
12. Rolling Stock—Locomotive—Engines and tenders.	35	1. An entire engine. *Note.*—The depreciation fund bears the cost of rebuilding an engine if the work is undertaken as one operation. 2. An entire tender.
13. Rolling stock—Locomotives—Boilers	25	An entire boiler.
14. Rolling Stock—Carriage and Wagon—Coaching Vehicles.	30	An entire Vehicle.
15. Rolling Stock—Carriage and Wagon—Goods Vehicles.	40	Ditto.
16. Motor Vehicles—Rail ...	20	Ditto.

Class of Asset.	Normal life.	Unit.
17. Motor Vehicles—Road ...	10	An entire Vehicle.
18. Electric Instruments and telephones.	13	All articles.
19. Electric Power Stations and substations—Buildings.	30	1. An entire building. 2. A part of a building when the part originally cost more than Rs. 25,000.
20. Electric Power stations—Plant ...	20	An entire unit of plant or entire machine.
21. Electric Locomotives ...	35	An entire Locomotive.
22. Electric overhead equipment of track.	50	All articles.

(*ii*) the credit to capital under rule 2 when a complete unit as described in clause (*i*) of this rule is replaced, abandoned, or disposed of.[1]

4. The depreciation fund is credited annually with an amount equivalent to the total expenditure to the end of the previous financial year on all the units of each class of asset as described above divided by the number of years assumed as the normal life of that class of asset provided that no credit shall be given on account of any unit after the period assumed for its normal life had expired. The effect of the rule prescribed in this paragraph is that when a unit is replaced or abandoned or disposed of before the expiry of its assumed normal life the credit on its account to the depreciation fund continues until the expiry of its assumed normal life. But in exceptional cases where replacements, involving substantial amounts are undertaken.

* * * * *

5. Revenue bears all other charges including :—

(*i*) the cost of temporary and experimental works;

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[1] The credit to capital is given when the unit is replaced, abandoned or disposed of.

(*ii*) the cost of any addition to the line or the equipment of the line, when estimated to cost not more than Rs. 2,000;

(*iii*) such portion of the cost of any appointments specifically created for the supervision or construction of a work chargeable partly to capital and partly to the depreciation fund or to revenue as is not borne by capital under rule 1 (*v*);

(*iv*) the credit to capital under rule 2 when it is not borne by the depreciation fund under rule 3(*ii*);

(*v*) the original cost of any work or article of equipment replaced, when it is not borne by the depreciation fund under rule 3 (*i*);

(*vi*) the credit to the depreciation fund under rule 4.

6. Revenue is credited with any amount received from the disposal of a work or article of equipment."

It may be worth while mentioning the following facts in connection with the question of the separation of Railway Finance :—

On the continent of Europe, most Railways which were under State management have been placed under Company management mainly because of financial difficulties. The result of State management was that, in the first place, there was no attempt to maximise the gross revenue and to reduce the working expenses but the idea of company management now is to place the financial condition of the Railways on a substantial basis. In the past, for instance, in Germany, the Railway tariffs were kept low but the operating expenses were unduly high. The staff were unnecessarily large, and magnificent stations and shunting yards were provided at great expense, and there was no attempt to reduce the ratio of operating expenses to gross earnings. The result was that large sums of money were payable as interest charges on debts which had to be incurred because the expenses were more than the earnings. In order to repay the debts and to meet the interest charges and to place the Railways on a sound financial footing, the Railway Budget in Germany has been separated and the management has been placed on the basis of a commercial concern. The ownership of the German Railways however remains national, but the management has been handed over to a Company with a Board of Directors who represent the Government, the share-holders and the creditor-Allies. A company has been formed and they have been empowered to alter the principle of management on the basis of treating the attainment of nett revenue as of primary importance, whereas, formerly, under pure Government management, the guiding principle was to treat the attainment of nett revenue as of secondary importance. The chief idea now is to pay interest on debts and to accumulate funds to redeem this debt and to contribute towards payment of reparation money to the Allies. Similar principle and separation of Railway Budget have also been accepted in Spain, in Italy and in other countries, where principle of commercial management of Railways has taken the place of the principle of management of Railways to render public service first and to earn money afterwards.

S. C. GHOSE

WHAT AM I?

I.

What I called I when I was child
Of that what's left to me?
In circles seven of yonder Sun
A body new they see.
What then was I in bird and beast
In worm and plant now be—
And yet I feel that I am I,
The same that was am now.
The body's not me I feel assured
And yet it's me somehow.
In dreamless sleep there's peace not I
And yet awake I find—
It's I that slept and I that woke,
The change's but play of mind.
But what is mind and where it be
When dreamless is my sleep?
It *is* but the magic-glass
Thro' which on life I peep.
Then am I all or am I naught?
It's all His play of causeless thought.

II.

And shall I be when th' body's not
Of Thee I seek to know.
O, tell me, Love, shall I not be
With end of this breath-flow—
The body's not the thought I think,
The body's not the Love ador'd.
The body's but the instrument
Of what in heart is stor'd.
The body's dead, can more it die?
A naked soul to Love I fly—
O take me to Thy bosom, Love,
And wipe out all below, above.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN IN AMERICA

Hindu Philosopher Speaks.

No sooner had the prolonged applause of the audience died down than a Hindu philosopher, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, of the University of Calcutta, India, tall, dark-skinned and slender, with Oriental tunic and turban, continued in even more vigorous terms the criticism of a "fact-ridden" world. Speaking perfect English, without manuscript, Prof. Radhakrishnan went through all the institutions of modern man, from the family to international relations, and scathingly denounced them for their dependence on science without reflection.

Now making the capacious audience roar with laughter at a witty reference to the instability of marriage in the Western world, and then holding it so silently attentive that the creaking of a chair sounded large, Prof. Radhakrishnan called upon peoples everywhere to develop the capacity to draw aside from the whirl of events, periodically, and discover what they mean.

Expressing pleasure at having heard Prof. Dewey, who, he said, looms in the Orient, as an important philosopher, and confessing his surprise that he could agree with what Prof. Dewey said, the Hindu declared that "scientific invasion is universal." He said that it has penetrated India and is upsetting traditions and standards without having formulated any others to take their place.

Making the audience chuckle at his sarcastic reference to "philosophy as a discussion of essences and sensa" and as "the doctrine of subsistence and essences in current logic and epistemology," thereby paraphrasing or repeating the very titles listed in the program for discussion by various divisions of the Congress, Prof. Radhakrishnan stated with emphasis that it is not that kind of philosophy the world needs.

Delights in Satirical Darts.

Some in the audience were plainly dumbfounded at this casting of satirical darts at the nomenclature and classification used by Western philosophers. Prof. Radhakrishnan seemed to delight in it. Obviously extemporizing as he went along but with a quick and profound facility that brought expressions of amazement from members of the audience, he reacted instantly to the mood of the audience and with his hands stuck under his tunic across his stomach, he leaned toward the upturned faces and gave them one flashing criticism after another.

With intense fervour in his strong voice, he insisted that what the world needs is a philosophy that will embrace "a whole spiritual outlook" for all peoples of the world. "The attitude of 'my religion is right, not yours; my race is greatest not yours, my Nation is the greatest, not yours,' must be relinquished," he declared.

With the utmost simplicity, he described the Hindu principle of the oneness and wholeness of the universe, and the Hindu practice of periodic retirement from the seething world—"not literally in body"—so that the mind can reflect upon life, looking at it from the outside, and can establish a personal spiritual poise and strength. Urging the Hindu philosophy as a solution for the pressing problems of to-day, he concluded that the fulfilment of that philosophy requires "great discipline and self-sacrifice.

Even greater applause than followed Prof. Dewey's address greeted Prof. Radhakrishnan. He half rose from his chair two or three times to acknowledge it. After the meeting there was a buzz of admiring comment about him.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *The Boston Globe*, September 16, 1926.

THE VOYAGE OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS TO INDIA

Sir William Norris was appointed by the New English Company to represent their interests at the Court of the Great Mogul, Aurangzib. He took his leave of King William III on January 5, 1698-99. Prince George, Princess Anne and the Duke of Gloucester were present on the occasion of the farewell audience. At the Skinners' Hall, he received his commission, credentials and instructions from the Company. The same day he left London for Portsmouth and arrived on January 7. Here he was received by the Captain and was given a salute of 21 guns. He did not actually embark till January 21, the winds being contrary. While waiting he received a letter from the Court of Directors containing a warning to the effect that the Old Company was doing its utmost, by petition to the House of Commons, to prevent his sailing. He was, therefore, directed to board the ships immediately, his retinue with him, and to lie off St. Helens, that he might be ready to leave before any countermand inspired by the Old Company could reach him.

There came another letter from the Court of Directors, dated January 10, stating that more reliable information concerning the activities of the Old Company had been received. According to this it appeared that the Grand Committee of the said Company had communicated with the Secretary of State about Sir William's commission and instructions and that the Secretary had refused them all information unless he had the King's order to that effect. Further, that the said Committee would probably meet the next day to make formal application to his Majesty for the requisite order: that the Directors would keep Sir William informed of the Old Company's proceedings, and again requested him to be ready to sail at any moment. Another letter dated 17th January contained instructions as to Commissioners for the Madagascar Expedition which was due to arrive on the *Vine Pink* and also about the King's portrait, to be brought out by the *Degrave.* Lastly, Sir William was warned not to allow any other person to be added to his staff without consent from the Court.

On January 21, Sir William Norris embarked with befitting ceremonial. He was accompanied to his barge by all the Captains of the Men-of-War then at Portsmouth and by the Commanders of the Garrison as well. Again there was a salute of 21 guns from the castle and the warships at Spithead, and his flag was hoisted on board the *Harwich,* one of the four ships, provided for this service and for the suppression of piracy in the Indian seas. The other three ships were the *Anglesey*, *Hastings* and *Lizard,* the little fleet being under the command of Captain Thomas Warren as Commodore. The actual date of sailing was January 22. The fair wind with which they sailed soon changed and it was not till February 15, that Funchal in the Island of Madeira was reached. From here Sir William wrote the Court of Directors notifying his arrival, mentioning at the same time that the *London* had touched there on the 6th instant. He was officially welcomed by the Governor and at 5 o'clock the same day sent his brother, the Secretary, and his Master of the Horse to return the Governor's call. A letter to his brother (Thomas, of Speke), written by Sir William from Funchal, gives a vivid description of his visit and at the same time throws interesting light on his own character. He has been keenly observant, as the letter shews: mentions an early Spring in the island and its effects on the vineyards, comments on the cheapness and quantity of the native wines, as well as the flora of the island. He denounces the ignorance of the priests, but praises highly the hospitality of the Jesuits as shewn in a repast they gave him; remarks on the forwardness of Portuguese women, and recalls the lively conversation but disappointing looks of the inmates of a convent visited by him. A state visit to the Governor with whom he exchanged gifts is also recorded.

Sir William visited the Cathedral and other places of interest on the evening of his arrival. These visits he describes at greater length in his diary than in his correspondence. Describing the Cathedral as "ye best and largest in ye Island dedicated to ye Virgin Mary," he writes:—

"The Church is handsome and well built some good carvinge and pictures about their Altars wch I think are 11 in number and gaudily adornd to make a shew wch ye priests were foolish enough to value themselves upon and urged us to take notice it is ye only Church I ever take notice had ye steeple att the east end......

"They were adorning their Chappell against Shrove Sunday, it was ye young students business to dress our Lady as they calld it and others to dress up other Altars to make ym as gaudy and gay as possible and it is ye custome of ye fryers and ye rest against a great day to beg a hat for St. Antonius and a Coate for St. Nicholas and truly I wonderd ye Jesuites had not either begd or Bought a periwigg for ye Image of our Saviour on ye Crosse on one of their greate Altars for though ye Image of ye Virgin was finely sett out ye other I found neglected soe could not forbeare takinge notice of it from havinge never seen any Image of our Saviour wth a periwig on and nobody ever hade seen a more weather beaten and more scandalous one on a porters pole in London wch however serv'd the Turn for Shrove Sunday for ye fathers had not afforded a better.

"The next day I went to visitt ye Jesuits College dedicated to St. Sebastian where I was very handsomly entertaind wth all sorts of sweet meates and as good wines as ye Island offerd of wch they take care to have ye best the 2 Superiors were father White and Father Harris an Englishman and and Irish man very obliginge and complaisant spoke English and were very free to shew us all yt was to be seen and soe produced some of their choicest Relicks att my Request beeinge desirous to see as much as I could, wch they made no Scruple of, shewd us what they said was some of ye very crosse on wch our Saviour was crucifyd finely sett in Christall, another likewise of ye same but seemed not to soe much reguard beinge not soe well sett ane adornd, which they take care to bow ye knee to, and likewise some of ye blood of St. Xaver their Indian Saint

Concerninge whom I had some discourse wth them goeinge to ye same place—these thinges wth severall others of ye like nature serve to arouse ye vulgar who are no where more ignorant than here but I tooke ye two fathers to be men of more sense then to put any faith or confidence in such thinges."

He also alludes in the diary to a visit paid to the nunnery of St. Clara and mentions the discontent of the nuns, visible in their faces, however much they pretended otherwise. This, he thinks, might be attributed more to the climate than to their secluded life. He does not seem to have been favourably impressed by the looks of the Portuguese ladies at Funchall. He saw numbers of them in the Jesuits' Chapel on Shrove Sunday and in the streets going to confession and notes that

"never certainly was soe great a scarcity of good faces I did not see above 7 that were tollerable and ye rest very disagreable as well in feature shape and dresse."

Norris opines that Englishmen would be much disappointed not to find many more beautiful women there. The men also were mean in appearance. The Portuguese ladies paint their faces much more than do the ladies in England.

Being unable to pay another visit to the nunnery, he sent his musicians to entertain the nuns. Following on this he was asked by the priests to grant them a similar favour by allowing the musicians to play in the Cathedral after service. The Jesuits also asked that the players might discourse music in one of the galleries of their College on Shrove Tuesday, when the Governor, Don Antonio George De Mello and the Bishop, Don Joseph De Souza De Castello Arancho were present. On the previous Sunday he had been invited to hear the music in the cathedral, the Bishop and the Governor being also present. Sir William writes of both in high terms:—

"The Governour who was much a gentleman and upon all occasions very Respectfull to ye English would not sitt down till I did and the

Bishop was soe complaisant to urge it much, but in a Church in his own Diocesse I thought it not soe proper and excusd it wch ye Bishop I suppose was not offended at. The Churchmen there as in all papish countries naturally aspiring to be upermost—he has very good character and is well spoken of by those who are not of his Religion wch are some few English merchants: He is a schollarr wt makes him ye more Respected and better esteemd Learninge being almost as great a rarity amongst the priests as honesty amongst ye Laity."

He discovered that the Portuguese were fond of cheating and had daily complaints of this from all the members of his retinue, although they had been forewarned and all

" sufferers for Newgate cannot furnish out such a sett of exquisite pickpocketts as ye portugeezes here."

Regarding the fertility of the island, he describes the oranges, lemons, bananas and other fruits, but seems to have considered that agriculture was in a backward condition, because the inhabitants would not improve on the method of their forefathers. The streets were rugged and uneven and made walking very difficult. The commerce of the island was in the hands of a few merchants and these mostly English. The inhabitants seemed to be mostly occupied in daily processions arranged by the priests whose object was to keep them in subjection and ignorance. The bells were ringing most of the day and in the evening a bell was tolled at every Church. The latter was apparently a signal at which all heads were uncovered and everybody—so Sir William thought—thanked God for the mercies of the day now past. This occurred whether the people were in the streets or their own houses. Of this custom he writes:

"Whilst I was walkinge homewards att this time all in ye streets stood uncovered for about a minutes space performd this necessary peice of devotion and then ae ye Custome is bid one another good night."

Dealing with crime he records that during the past two hundred years there had only been one execution for murder in the island. The explanation was that criminals could flee for safety to a Church or Convent and there the secular power could not reach them. This custom he describes as remarkable and peculiar to the island. It may be compared to the Cities of Refuge under the Mosaic Jaw. Further, he notes that any such refugee who could obtain a licence from the King was at liberty to go abroad and so preserve or regain his liberty. In this way judicial procedure was generally barred. Of the one exception, who had paid the death penalty, he records that the criminal was a poor man and therefore unable to

> " Gratify y^e priests who will neither save body nor soul gratis."

Strangers, even if they were merchants, who might commit crimes had apparently little justice given them and that whether the cases involved property, or life or death. The office of judge was hereditary, so neither fitness nor learning counted. Any man could appeal to Lisbon if he considered a sentence passed upon him to be unjust, but he had no certainty of obtaining redress.

Sir William describes his official visit to the Governor of Madeira on February 17, in much greater detail in the diary than in the letter to his brother already quoted.

> " He was attended by the Comodore Captaines and officers of y^e men of warr y^e Commissioners for destroying the pyrates att Madagascar, y^e English merchants all walking before, y^e English Consull and my Brother walkinge on each side and my pages and 20 men in livery walking bare headed behind..."

The Governor came out of his room of State to greet the visitor and made him enter first. This was to put him in possession. The interview lasted fifteen minutes during which they talked general matters, such as the voyage and general fertility of the island. When Sir William took leave the Governor went out first and bade farewell at the top of the staircase. The same afternoon the Governor sent offering his own guards to attend the distinguished visitor. But this

Sir William courteously declined. Of the guards he writes that they reminded him of

> "our black guard they were soe miserably Ragged and what made them looke worse their Rags were not uniforme but of different colours and their Armes as Rusty and as unfitt for Service as y^e men y^t bore them who indeed seemd well suited to y^e equipage they bore and put y^m altogether made a very comicall figure."

Next morning the Governor paid an early visit to the Consul's house with "as much shew as he could muster," and had an interview with the Ambassador, who was a guest there.

The same day, Father White, Superior of the Jesuits, called along with Father Harris. The former confidentially asked Sir William whether he would be willing to write to the Queen Dowager at Lisbon about the very respectful reception given him by the Governor; this, he said,

> "she would accept very kindly upon y^e account of y^e Character I bore and befriend him wth her brother y^e Kinge."

To this request, however, after mature consideration he did not accede.

From Funchal on February 20, he wrote also to the Court of Directors informing them that the

> "Governor sent off to compliment me which I immediately returned, came ashore incognito, designing to continue so during my stay here, but the Governor being informed of it, the Consul thought it would not only be expected, but for the honour of the Nation, to make him a visit, which I did being attended by those of the English nation here and all the Captains of the Men of War. The Governor who received it very kindly, made me another next day, and has since sent me a present of wine, fresh provisions, and sweetmeats, which I have returned in the best manner I could."[1])

There was also a short note the following day to Mr.

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[1] See Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. 19. 1. 0.

Gardner, Secretary to the Company, commending the civility and respect paid him by the Consul, Mr. Bolton.

On February 20, Sir William went on board his ship to entertain a specially invited dinner party. His barge was accompanied to the anchorage by the Commanders in their several barges, the English Consul and other Englishmen invited. On stepping into his barge the guns of the Castle fired a salute which the Commodore returned as soon as Sir William was aboard and his flag hoisted. After dinner the healths of the King of England and the King of Portugal were drunk and seven guns fired in compliment to the Governor. After each of the Royal toasts also five guns were fired. When the Governor was informed of this he ordered a return salute of more guns.

Our Ambassador sailed from Funchal on Ash Wednesday, February 22 (old style), and the Consul came off in the morning to take leave of him. In the diary Sir William writes in high terms of the Consul's good qualities and of his clear understanding of the Portuguese character.

On February 25, the Commodore arranged with the Captains to touch at the Cape de Verd Islands for salt and water. On the same date a letter was sent Sir William by the Court of Directors containing information as to the movement of the ships coming on behind. The *Antelope* had been detained at Plymouth by contrary winds; the *Degrave*, which would bring this letter, was carrying also the remainder of the presents. The King's picture, the State things, and the Communion plate given by the Lord Bishop of London, would be sent by the ships going to Surat which would sail at the latter end of March. It was further mentioned that the Old East India Company, pretending that they desired an agreement with the New Company, had the day before laid a petition before the House of Commons, which petition was to be considered on the 27th instant. The Court hoped it would be thrown out. This letter, along with others sent from England during the voyage, were of course not received by Sir William till after his arrival in India.

On March 3 Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, was sighted and course was altered towards the Isle of May. The former appeared to be barren, having no trees or "anything green." The inhabitants were banditti from Portugal with other reputedly dangerous people, so that it was not believed to be safe for anyone to land unguarded. The master did not venture to anchor off the Isle of May that night, so they lay in the offing till next morning. At 10 A.M. on March 4 they anchored and were saluted by several English merchantmen anchored near at hand, the Commodore returning the compliment. After that the masters of all the vessels came on board Sir William's ship.

The diary describes a large plain on this island about a mile long and half a mile broad. The salt water runs in from the sea once a month through some underground conveyances into this large plain, when it becomes calcinated through the heat of the sun. Sir William considered it the best salt he ever saw and it was *cent. per cent.* better than that made anywhere else. Apart from the plain mentioned above, in which the salt pits are situated, the surface is sandy and

> "On side is a very pleasant walke as even and longer than y^e Mall in St. Jame's Walke but wants y^e shade of trees..."

The inhabitants subsist almost entirely on fish which they broil on the sand and they have only brackish water to drink except when ships bring wine. Sir William writes:

> "The Governor of this Island as well as all ye Inhabitants are very civill obliginge honest people are neither given to cheatinge or pilferinge as in all other Islands and as they are destitute of money soe they seem to be no ways desirous of it all they beg of you is a few old cloathes to cover their nakedness and very ordinary things contents y^m."

From on board the *Harwich* while off the Isle of May Sir William wrote two letters dated 7th March. One was to the Court of Directors: the other to the Mayor and Corporation of Liverpool. Neither contains anything of importance, save that in the latter he mentions that the next place of call would be St. Jago, already sighted on the 3rd March.

They arrived on March 10, at St. Jago and anchored off Praya, where there was a castle bearing the same name. The Governor of the place saluted them with guns. As a place of strength the castle does not appear to have impressed the voyagers. Fresh water and provisions were obtained here. Again, the diary may be resorted to—Sir William records of the island that it has a large population and a fertile soil. The people barter their bullocks, goats and turkeys for old jackets and knives which they prefer to money. In the afternoon he went ashore to view the land and was much impressed by

> "a very pleasant delightfull grove of Cocoe Trees and here ye first time I tasted of ye soe celebrated fruit wch serves for soe many conveniencys of life, they are sufficiently describd by many travellers soe shall say little of them save yt they are very refreshinge as well ye juice yt is contained in ye shell as pleasant as milke and as wholesome about ye quantity of a pint one wth another and ye kernell wch is very large as good as a filberd or walnutt one of these cocoe nutts is a very good meale affordinge sufficient quantitye of both meat and drinke and very refreshinge: but this tree furnishes the inhabitants wth cloathes likewise wch is made from ye coveringe of ye nutt of wch likewise they make ropes. The fryers assuring me those they were made of ye cocoa tree and ye leaves serves them for a lacing to their little houses and is much better than any of our Thatch, there is no Tree yt I know of besides yt serves so well for food Rayment and soe many other necessaryes."

Next day he in company with the commodore and others visited the town of St. Jago. He notes that the Castle stands high, but only twenty-five or thirty out of a hundred guns are mounted. He visited the Franciscan Convent, where there were 16 friars, who entertained him with fruits, sweetmeats and wine, the friars next day returned the visit bringing with them "sallads" and other things, which Sir

William acknowledged with gifts of biscuits, fish, a case of spirits and different wines, for which they sent him

> "a very complimentall letter and ye wishes of ye whole fraternity for my good and safe voyage and likewise a melon some of ye best figs I ever eate a punch or 2 of grapes and 2 pineaples wch were green."

After describing the position of the Convent he declares that the Fathers, who were all Portuguese, were the best he had yet seen. He visited the Governor too, Don Antonio Salgado, who received him very courteously and asked him to dinner. This invitation, however, Sir William had to decline. Time did not allow him to visit the Bishop who seemed to be a man of good reputation.

On the 13th Sir William entertained the Governor of Praya with his brother and some other people to dinner. The Governor was effusive in his compliments and thanks for the entertainment and, when Sir William expressed a wish to take a walk on the Island, insisted on giving him an official reception. The Governor returned with him to the ship and as Sir William

> "perceived he [the Governor] had taken a particular fancy to ye wine he had tastd of soe after havinge himself usd ye freedom I could not deny him he had much adoe to gett ashore His Brother and ye preist were ashamd of his behaviour and ye preist made him doe penance for he was taken notice to be dropping his beades for 2 or 3 days successively: I had soe much of his fulsome impertinence this visitt yt I industriously avoided seeing him any more but however had occasion to send a message to him one wch alarmed him equally wth ye complaint I sent to ye Gouvernour of St. Jagoe."

The occasion referred to was as follows.

Sir William was one day walking on a high hill near the castle when a band of twenty horsemen rode up to say that no one was allowed to walk in that vicinity. There appears to have been an encounter of some sort, for one of the pages was struck with the broken half of a pike. On returning to the ship Sir William at once sent his secretary to the Governor to ask if the interference had taken place by his orders. In reply an abject apology was offered and intimation made that the hand of the man who struck the page should be cut off. Sir William replied that the apology was itself sufficient and

"sent to him to remitt ye execution of ye sentence wch I was forcd to presse 2 or 3 times to save ye mans hands."

The complaint mentioned also in the above extract which he sent to the Governor of St. Jago arose partly from the less amiable activities of the gentleman whose devotion to Sir William's wine had brought him penance at the hands of his spiritual adviser. He prevented the inhabitants from forwarding provisions to the market at which apparently the ships' pursers bought their supplies. This, of course, caused a shortage of food on the ships. At the same time a negro stole something from one of the sailors who on pursuing him was stabbed in the back by the same negro. When complaint of this was made to the Governor at Praya he pretended that the negro should be arrested. The Governor of St. Jago, however, hearing of the incident before the formal complaint reached him at once offered a full apology. When the latter also learnt of his subordinate's ill manners in withholding provisions from the ships he gave the latter a sharp reprimand and sent Sir William "a couple of fatt Bullocks."

The fertility of this island seems to have made a great impression on our Ambassador, for he alludes to the vines and their power of bearing fruit three times a year:

"sometimes on ye same vine they havinge here……blossome greene and ripe grapes on the same vine all at once."

Again he records how the Fathers bought him

"small Bunch in wch were some ripe Grapes ye 12 of March and another Bunch of muscatell grapes almost ripe."

The people he thought lazy; they did not cultivate the land properly, but simply "flicked" the corn into the ground without ploughing. Tamarinds and "calisfera" grew plentifully; fish were caught in great abundance. At "one draught was caught 984 brought on shipboard besides abundance lost through ye nett breakinge." Turtle also was here tasted by our voyagers for the first time.

Before leaving St. Jago the ships were cleaned and a full supply of water taken on board. This was to make all possible speed and avoid calling at the Cape, as Sir William hoped with a fair wind to reach Don Mascarine or St. Marice near Madagascar which it was intended should be the next stopping place.[1]

A meeting of the Council was held on board the *Harwich* on 23rd March, 1698 [9]. There were present the Ambassador, Mr. Edward Norris, Mr. Thomas Harlewyn and Mr. Thomas Thurgood. Accounts of the expenditure from January 22 to March 19 were laid before the Council for his Excellency's approval. In English money the amount spent was £287-8-10½, and in dollars 45-6-6¾ at 5*s*. per dollar. It was resolved to reimburse Mr. John Blackett the sum he had already advanced to meet expenses, by paying 1,600 dollars; the balance to remain in his hands and be accounted for at next meeting of the Council.[2]

Leaving the Embassy to proceed on their voyage from St. Jago to Table Bay, we now turn to matters in England as they are disclosed by letters addressed to Sir William by the Court of Directors. In the first, dated April 4, 1699, he was informed that the remainder of the presents intended for the Great Mogul were being conveyed to India by the *Montagne*, commanded by Captain John Caulier and bound for Surat. Further, that the Bill promoted by the Old Company had been refused a first reading in the House of Commons and that the New Company was negotiating a treaty with the Old; that they had chosen Sir Nicholas Waite to be the new President at Surat and that he was sailing in the *Montagne.* Further information was to the effect that the Presidents and Councils of all Factories had been instructed to correspond with Sir William. The Court of Directors hoped that negotiations with the Mogul would be conducted as expeditiously as possible and the expenditure controlled as much as " may be consistent with your character." They said that

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[1] See O.C. 54, No. 6590, I.O.

[2] See Part I, Vol. 13, p. 3, of *Factory Records*, Masulipatam.

> "The Indians are in our opinions a very wise People and differ from that which wee count grandure in England (keeping great Tables), and wee believe the heate of the country as well as our Interest will lead you to be frugall therein.

They hoped Captain Warren would do some execution upon the pirates and so facilitate his mission. They added that the Old Company had obtained power from the King for the " taking of Pirates" only. On the 4th of April the Court also wrote to Edward Norris and other assistants

> "that having written to the Ambasaador have little to add, except to obtain what if necessary with as much expenditure as possible." [1]

The Directors wrote to him again under date of 28th April, 1699, with the information that Sir Nicholas Waite, President-designate at Surat, who had taken his passage in the *Montagne* was to call at Cadiz to take in treasure there; also that meetings between the Old and New Companies were still proceeding, although no agreement had yet been reached. He was warned not to rely on any reports but those sent him by the New Company: told that by the gracious wish of the King Presidents of the different factories have been raised to the rank of Consuls; that the Old Company were actively circulating reports to the effect that they would prevent, if possible, the Embassy from being successful, and, in consequence it was desirable that the mission should be accomplished as soon as practicable: further, that the King had conferred on the ships of the Old Company the same powers as he had on those of the New with regard to pirates.

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[1] See Adl. MS. 31,302, British Museum.

In the next letter, dated 3rd August, 1699, the Directors alluded to a rumour which had reached them to the effect that the Great Mogul had decreed imprisonment for Europeans "for the Pyracies committed against his subjects," but that a settlement had been arrived at. They expressed a lively hope that Captain Warren's action would lead to the suppression of piracy, and had sent him £1,000 through Mr. Traver: the negotiations between the Companies had made no progress: and Sir Josiah Child had died two months previously.

From Table Bay on 14th June Sir William wrote to the Directors giving an account of the voyage from 10th March. They had crossed the Equator on April 9, and passed the Tropic of Capricorn exactly a fortnight later. Owing to the wind continuing southerly they had come near the Coast of Brazil: then it having shifted to the West, they had been carried directly towards the Cape of Good Hope, off which they arrived on June 5.[1] The *Harwich*, the *Anglesey* and the *Hastings* dropped anchor in Table Bay, while the *Lizard* seems to have been driven round the Cape. On the 7th the little squadron was saluted with seven guns by the Dutch Governor Mynheer Adrian Vanderstell, the Commodore duly returning the compliment. Sir William thought that "this was a civility never shown to any before the French Ambassador to Siam." On June 23 they sailed from the Cape, salutes marking the departure as they had the arrival.

Information having been received at the Cape that the famous pirate, Captain Kidd, had been lately at St. Augustine's Bay, on the West side of Madagascar, the Commodore directed his course thither. Sir William wrote to the Secretary of State (James Vernon):

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[1] Luttrell is mistaken in recording that Sir William Norris arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 7th of May. See Vol. IV, p. 575.

> "We arrived there on the 15th of July, and were informed by the natives, as well as by one Mr. Harris (who belonged to a ship, whose crew run away with her in March last, from Trelur [Tulcar] about 7 Leagues to the northward of this place, where he remained till we came hither), that Kidd had been here, but finding his own ship disabled for the sea, he burnt her, and in November last sailed in another he had taken, for the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, with the plunder of several ships he had taken in these parts."[1]

The call at St. Augustine's Bay having proved vain, the squadron pursued its course, and on July 28 Sir William formally notified the Commodore of his wish to be taken to Porto Novo, on the Coast of Coromandel. They arrived at the Island of Joanna [Comoro Islands] on August 1, and were entertained by the Governor who was in turn entertained by them on board one of the ships. After staying a few days to take in water and provisions they resumed the voyage and reached Porto Novo on September 12.[2]

In the diary Sir William records his amazement to find that the *London* and the *Degrave* with presents for the Mogul were not awaiting him at Porto Novo. He sent notification to the local Governor of his arrival and quality and of the foundation of the New Company, as distinct from the Old; and made enquiry about the missing ships, the Mogul's sons and sundry other matters. In reply the Governor informed him that the Mogul was encamped near Bijapur. This place Sir William found was some way from Porto Novo, but comparatively near to Masulipatam. There were however no conveyances to be obtained. He learnt that the *London* and the *Degrave* (with Consul John Pitt aboard) had passed six or seven weeks previously bound for Masulipatam. The Governor sent a polite present of fruit to the Ambassador with an assurance that if the New Company wished to have a settlement in that place they should have ground to build a Factory given them free of charge. Sir William returned the compliment and then his squadron proceeded for Masulipatam.

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[1] See Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. 19, I.O.

[2] Bruce in his *Annals of the East India Company*, Vol. III, stated that the Ambassador arrived at Porto Novo on the 19th of September, which is not correct according to the Diary of Sir William Norris. See MS. Rawl. C. 912, Bodleian.

On September 18, they arrived at Fort St. George, where they stayed but a short time. Here salutes and other civilities were exchanged with the Governor,[1] who seemed to have been under a misapprehension as to the nature of the expedition. This was afterwards ascertained from Mr. Trenchfield, who came on board and told Sir William that the Governor and Council had been much alarmed by the first sight of the squadron, and Sir William believed that the Old Company

> " were peremptory against salutinge or takinge any notice at all of me as ye Kings Ambassadour."

Further, that the Governor had been much nettled at a message sent him by Mr. Pitt (New Company's Consul for the Coast). On this Sir William deemed it well to send his brother to interview and reassure him as to their intentions. Mr. Trenchfield also mentioned that not three years before the Old Company had owed 22 lacs of rupees at Surat and that this debt did not appear in their London books. Further that the Governor of Fort St. George had sent the Danes assistance in their war against the Mogul. On their departure the Fort was silent, as no salute was fired.

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[1] Governor Pitt, grandfather of the Earl of Chatham, went out to Bengal in 1673 as an Interloper and made his fortune there. After a few years he returned to England and became a member of Parliament in 1690. Seven years later he was appointed Governor of Fort St. George, in spite of the opposition of Sir Josiah Child. His dominating personality upheld English prestige in Madras, for he successfully defended the Fort during the blockade by Daud Khan. Whilst there he bought from Ramchand, an Indian merchant, the famous " Pitt Diamond " for 48,000 pagodas and afterwards sold it to King Louis XV of France for, it is said, upwards of £100,000. His last years at Fort St. George were marked by manifold difficulties and he was ultimately dismissed from the service. On his return to England he again became a member of Parliament in 1710 and his political activities for the next few years were conspicuous. For further details see *The Life of Thomas Pitt*, by Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton, Cambridge University Press, 1915.

In the diary Fort St. George is thus described :—

> "Fort St. George is a plattforme next ye waterside in ye midle of wch there is a Gate thrô wch you passe before you come to ye Fort."

It is a four-sided redoubt about 120 yards in diameter. Different accounts are given of the number of guns there, were probably about 150. It was a

> "place of no strength att all if compard with European fortifications,"

but perhaps strong enough to repel any Indian force. It is surrounded by pleasant gardens and the population of the locality then was about 150,000—mostly Indians, with Portuguese and Armenians. All told there were not more than seventy English families. He adds :

> "Governour very absolute and arbitrary and but little Government or justice amongst ye English for it seems when any of ye factours dy ye next to him yt can lay his hands on ye effects seizes all either they make no will or are not regarded if made for they seize as can."[1]

On September 20, 1699, the squadron anchored at Masulipatam and Consul Pitt came aboard to welcome the Ambassador. Sir William lost no time in writing to the Right Honourable James Vernon on September 23, announcing his arrival and his intention of disembarking on the following Monday. There is a postscript as follows :

> All possible provision is making by the Governor in Chief of this province under the Great Mogul for my reception with great grandeur and all imaginable demonstrations of friendship."

The same day he wrote to the Court of Directors in similar terms. Sir William landed on the 25th September, remarking in his diary :

> "It was a little remarkable yt I should land ye same day of ye month

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[2] See Ms. Rawl. C. 912, Bodleian.

on ye Coast of India as Sr Tho : Roe did who was ye only Ambassador ever sent from England to these parts before viz., Anno 1615, 25th 7ber att Suratt he landed."

He was met by "all the old and new Company" and by vast crowds, and was careful to make his entry in state:

> "I had my Kettle Drums and trumpetts wth their banners and my Hautboys before all my Retinue walkinge fare behind."

The Governor met him, and the welcome was emphasized by entertainments and fireworks. Mr. Tillard, a servant of the New Company, was then at Masulipatam and has recorded in his diary[1] a graphic description of the landing:

> "Ye 25th My Lord came ashore abt 10 in ye morng, his retinue being ashore before to receive him. He made a publick entry, he was met by ye Consull and ye rest of ye Factory upon ye bridge, also by Mr. Lovell and ye other gentlemen of old camp Factory, ye Moor Gover mett his Excelcy in ye Banksel wth his retinue, and from thence his Lordship went to his Lodgings, ye Nawab's house, wth his retinue, as follows : first, went betwn 40 and 50 Peons, then followed ye horeboys and a compa (of) soldiers, yn ye trumpets, after yt my Lords pages, yn Mr. Browne in place of my Lords steward, his own being sick, and ye fest of my Lords assistants, as ye under-secretary, ye treasurer, ye 3 commisre for Prizes : yn went Comodore Warrn and 2 other comdrs of each side, (that is) to say, Capn Littleton on his right and Capn White on his left side, ye other Capn being not well and so not ashore, then came his Excellcy my Lord Ambasr. Wm Norris, after him ye Consull Jno. Pitt, Esq., (the) secretary of ye Embassy, Mr. Norris, my Lords bror and then our Secd Mr. Jno. Graham and Mr. Thos. Lovell, chief of ye old Campa Servts in this place after yn myself with —Pitt ye parson of our Factory, after us Mr. Jno. Holden our Secretary and Mr. Nodham ye old Compa Secd, also ye 3rd of sd Factory, yn went Mr. Halo and ye writtrs every-one in their sevll stations, and after yn some others from aboard ye ships *Harwich*, Capn Warren Comadre, *Angeese*. Capn Littleton, *Hastings*, Capn Richd White, and *Lizard*, Capn Romsey."

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[1] See p. 12 of the Manuscripts of P. Edward Tillard, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part X.

On September 29, Mr. Dovell, Chief of the Old Company's factory, paid formal visit to the Ambassador. The Squadron that had brought him sailed again on the 30th. There was illness in the ships while they were at Masulipatam which Sir William believed was due "to ye badness of ye water." As a result Mr. Blackett, his steward, died on the 30th and two days later the Surgeon, Mr. Nathaniel Cox, also died.

HARIHAR DAS

THE CALL

Here in this cold and snow-enshrouded land,
I stand behind my frosted window-pane
And look out on a silent frozen world
Where shadow-shapes flit by like ghosts.

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Somewhere a fountain splashes in the sun,
And pigeons coo from softly shadowed eaves ;
Somewhere the tall palms whisper in the breeze,
And fragrant perfumes scent the langrous air.
Somewhere the skies are cloudless cobalt blue,
And dusty roads wind through the country-side ;
The white road beckons me ; the palms, the breeze,
The flowers, and the glamourous charms all call
To me, and I would follow where they wait
Beyond the seas, to that far land of dreams.

L. S. ANDERSON

LIFE'S CRYSTAL GLOBE

Life stood before me darkly veiled, a crystal globe within her hand:
"Read thou the mystic secret here—read thou," she said, "and understand.
Read thou, ere Time awoke to know—when but an atom or a mote,
Or dust of star in Cosmic sea, the human brain was first afloat.

"Read how evolved from some Great Cause, the macrocosm sure to be,
And from amoeba man evolved, a microcosmic god in thee!"
"All has been writ, and all been read," out answered then my inner—I:
"The Darwins, Spencers, Huxleys, Kants, have delved and reasoned, but to die.

"What matters it from whence we sprung—from protoplasm or from nought?
We are creations of a God who gave us life just by a thought.
Useless and void all argument; all theories and science vain—
Our living proves that we have lived, our dying proves we live again.

"Wise Burton drained each cup he found, traversed each path in vain to trace,

His weary feet and brain ere failed in what he sought—
Truth's dwelling place!
All vain the queries of poor Job, upon the planes of
Sinai;
And vain the wisest King's great quest,—like poorest
slave he had to die.

"One glimpsed the Truth but knew it not, in dusty tent
of Khorasan;
And one glimpsed it in ancient Greece, one who e'en
then was more than man!
Read the Kasidah through and through, and Omar's
wisdom con with care;
Read thou the wondrous Vedic Hymns, and study thou
the Gita rare.

"No knowledge makes thee understand—no hand can lift
the veil but thine;
For Wisdom if thy inner-God, and can alone the Truth
divine.
Ah, what is Truth, the sages cry—and so they've sought
throughout all time,
To read the riddle of the Sphinx, in every age, in every
clime.

"And when the lowly Nazarine upstood 'neath Pilate's
brooding eyes,
He answered not, 'Ah, what is Truth?'—and so the
query time defies.
For well He knew the answer lay within great Pilate's
sleeping heart;—
That Silence is the occult law, that teaches all of
God a part.

"That Truth, the innate, subtle law, the gem of worth, the winged pearl,
Must find its being in the Soul—must there its wings of light unfurl!"
Then answered Life, "Ah, wise art thou; for words but weaken argument;
In meditation strength is gained, in thought alone is time well spent.

"All theories and creeds are vain; the choicest work of men will fall
And perish in the dust of Time—as fell the Babylonian wall!
Great Pan is dead; Rome is no more the pampered mistress of the Earth;
The ancient grandeurs of great Thebes and Pompeii,—what are they worth?

"Nought but annihilations waste; for nought abounds but certain Death!
Myriad lives are sacrificed by us with every indrawn breath.
The Sun drinks deep from sparkling stream, but gives it back in silver rain:
From every death, e'en from the waste, will fuller life upspring again.

"And so drink deep from wisdom's tide, and glean the flowers of knowledge fair;
Winnow the sowings of the sage, and grasp the thoughts afloat in air.
Sift them all down to barest husks, the gist of Wisdom thou shalt find;
The smallest germ, the poorest mote, springs from the *Great Eternal Mind*!"

Life stood before me darkly veiled, a crystal globe within her hand:
"Read thou the mystic secret here—read thou," she cried, "and understand."
I looked, and lo, the crystal globe was gleaming like the risen Sun
I looked, and there the secret read, the secret of Creation won!

There was the riddle of the Sphinx, there was the meaning of all life;
There was the Primal Cause of things, there was the secret of all strife:
There's nought in wisdom of the Earth, and nought in all the stars above,
That holds the mystic power and truth, that there out-gleamed in one word—*Love*!

TERESA STRICKLAND

A GREAT INDIAN PATRIOT—JAMSETJI NUSSERWANJI TATA [1]

In all substantial programmes for the progress of scientific and industrial education and development of Indian industries and commerce on national lines the name of the Tata family occupies the foremost place and enjoys the unrivalled national reputation for generosity and far-sightedness. Among the Tatas the work and achievements, the life and labour of Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata is the most inspiring and far-reaching in scope. He had the ideal and vision of a great nation-builder. He worked under the most adverse circumstances, as most of the pioneers had to do. He not only achieved great success in his life-time, but left a legacy which his devoted son and relatives and friends have promoted with such care and energy, as the living memory of the great Indian patriot, that there have arisen lasting monuments in the shape of the Indian Institute of Science, the great Iron and Steel Industry of India centred in the city of Jamshedpur, and the extensive Hydro-Electric Industry of India.

India owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. F. R. Harris of New College, Oxford, for the splendid work on the life of Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata. It is of inestimable value, because the author, an English scholar, has written an account of the life-work of an Indian patriot with impartiality and keen insight into the ideals of the great man. Sir Stanley Reed, Kt., K.B.E., LL.D., has written an introduction to the work, which is an estimate of Tata's character and greatness.

In this work, the author has given a short account of the Tata family and the early life of the hero, his family life and social life. He has discussed various activities of J. N. Tata—his activities in Far Eastern Trade, establishment of the Empress Mills, Swadeshi and Advance Mills, the Development of Bombay, The Institute of Science, and those concerning the establishment of Iron and Steel Industry and the Hydro-Electric Projects. He has devoted very justly a chapter on the "successors of J. N. Tata," because without the worthy successors and their unceasing efforts Tata's great schemes would never have been carried out.

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[1] Harris, F. R., Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata (A Chronicle of His Life). Oxford University Press. London, 1925, p. 348. Price §5·00.

In this short paper, I shall not discuss, with any detail, the above topics ; on the contrary, I shall advise my readers to study the work of Mr. Harris and be well-repaid by the knowledge they will acquire by doing so. I shall touch on certain underlying principles and ideals of the great Indian patriot ; and I believe that in the present stage of political, industrial and social evolution of India these principles which moulded the life of J. N. Tata may serve as a safeguard for the present and future generation of India, interested in making India great in every field of human activity.

First of all, it must be noted that Tata's success in life was not due to a chance, but due to his integrity, ability and far-seeing business policies, actuated by patriotic motives. Sir Stanley Reed describes Tata's patriotism in the following way :—

> "To understand him, and his work for India, it is imperatively necessary to realize not only what he did, but why he did it. His was a life devoted to the service of India. Mr. Tata was keenly interested in politics ; he numbered amongst his intimate friends many of those who laid the foundations of the new public life in India. He was fully alive to the value of the work of the social reformers, and his house was always open to them and their co-adjutors. But he chose for his own field the broadening and the strengthening of the economic foundations of Indian society, and to that work he bent his whole energies of his forceful character and vigorous mind......When he surveyed the almost untilled industrial field of India with the knowledge won from a hard industrial struggle, and the power accruing from the wealth success had brought him,

Mr. Tata came to three main conclusions. They were, that no country could become industrially great which did not manufacture iron and steel: that no sustained economic growth was possible, without the provision in the country itself of the means of winning a first-class scientific education, and that the prosperity of his own adopted city, Bombay, could not be regarded as secure so long as it was entirely dependent on coal brought thirteen hundred miles by rail or sea from the remote fields of Bengal. From this realization sprang the three enterprises with which his name will always be associated...the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur, the hydro-electric schemes which are making Bombay virtually independent of coal and furnishing it with an abundance of cheap, clean power; and the Indian Institute at Bangalore which aims at giving to Indians post-graduate education in science second to none in the world...Every industrial enterprise to which he set his hand was meant to pay. But wealth was never an end in itself; it was the means to an end, the greater prosperity of India...He was a business patriot in the full sense of the term."

Mr. Harris supplements the estimate of Sir Stanley Reed and says,—

> "Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata was one who knew how to acquire and how to dispose a fortune. He had all the qualities which make a successful man of business; he was honest, resolute and cautious, but he could bring courage and imagination to bear upon his schemes...His resolute will enabled him to elaborate projects which his imagination conceived upon the largest scale. He was at once a businessman, a patriot, and a thinker, whose service to India was as great as his love for her was profound."

A Champion of Racial Equality.

J. N. Tata was proud of his Persian ancestry and Indian citizenship: and he was anxious that all Indians would be treated with respect. He most indignantly opposed and protested against all forms of racial discrimination against the Indians by the British. As early as 1863 during the festivities arranged to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Wales Mr. Tata was shabbily treated by some over-zealous British police official and he never forgot this; and thirty years later in an interview to *Ceylon Independent*, he was reported to have said, "If some Englishmen treated us more considerately, there would be more harmony than there is..."(p. 9).

J. N. Tata had many friends among English people, but he never compromised his individual dignity as a man and never feared to criticise the haughty and overbearing attitude of Englishmen. He "avoided travelling by the P. and O. Line, because he noticed a certain amount of discrimination between the European and the Indian" (p. 275). A draft of a letter written by J. N. Tata to Sir George Birdwood has been preserved. In it the great Indian patriot among other things wrote :—

> "As for my antipathy to everything English it will reassure you to know that it is a myth. The Parsee...becomes anxious when the interests of British supremacy are sacrificed to indulge individual arrogance, or to gratify service clamour, or to perpetuate a new caste domination. That these unfortunate perversions exist, you ought to know even more than I; it cannot be accidental that men like Lords Ripon and Reay, beloved of natives, were odious to Englishmen...You call yourself a friend of the Congress, so is Sir William Hunter, so was Sir Richard Garth.. all three Conservatives. That in itself shows that the Congress has a favorable side. To read the Anglo-Indian organs, to hear English officials, merchants and brokers the Congress is ridiculous when it is not mischievous...Would you wish me to proclaim that the Englishman, like the king of old, can do no wrong ?...And if I recommend foreign lines of steamers, is it understood that it is a matter of business; a matter of cheaper fares, more agreeable food, more courteous attendance, and less haughty fellow-passengers? Am I wrong?" (pp. 273-275).

Mr. Harris further writes on this subject and shows the sterling quality of Tata as a man of self-respect and honour for his people.—

> "Political, social or legal discrimination between the Englishman and the Indian were to him particularly distasteful, and he felt it still more keenly when discrimination was extended to business matters. On one occasion he was asked, by a Lancashire textile manufacturer, to pay £117 for some carding machines of a pattern which he knew was supplied to

English houses at £85. Naturally Mr. Tata protested against this overcharge. He found his opponent "firm and obstinate," but a threat to withdraw the order brought about a reduction of over £10 a card. 'One thing very much put me up against his machinery,' wrote Mr. Tata, 'and that was when I asked him whether he would promise to place us on the same terms, as regards the price of his cards, with the latest orders he had filled in Lancashire; he answered me bluntly that 'he must, as an Englishman, decidedly favour Lancashire in his prices compared with the prices he received from his Indian customers.' After assuring the manufacturer that his prices were public property, Mr. Tata, met the man with equal firmness and obstinacy. 'I positively told him,' he wrote, 'that unless I was placed on exactly the same footing as his other customers in Lancashire I would never more buy an engine of his, and try to persuade my fellow manufacturers in India to do the same'" (pp. 275-276).

This resentment against discrimination of all forms, when translated into positive term takes the form of "Demand for Racial Equality." If the people of India are to live with self-respect and to have equal opportunity to play the role of a great people then all Indian nationalists will have to accept the programme of "*securing Racial Equality for the people of India in India, within and outside the British Empire, in all matters such as immigration, commerce and all forms of international intercourse.*" J. N. Tata did not theorize about this programme, but in his everyday life he put it into practice to the best of his ability.

II

India First vs. *Communalism.*

Tata was a great Indian patriot and the political future of India was not a question of indifference to him. All his life he supported the work of the All-India National Congress and "remained a member of that body to the end of his life." Lord George Hamilton classed J. N. Tata not merely as a commercial man of high standing, but a "political pioneer of the most reliable character." He at times very fiercely criticised British Indian Government's financial and commercial policy. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta once said :—

> "The current notion that Mr. Tata took no part in public life, was a great mistake. There was no man who held stronger notions on political matters, and though he could never be induced to appear and speak on a public platform, the help, the advice, and the co-operation which he gave to political movements never ceased except with his life."

In 1883 Tata participated in the birth of the Congress and he always classed himself as "Indian First and Parsee afterwards"; and he held decided views against all forms of communalism. "When on occasion, a friend thoughtlessly said to him, 'You can have no concern with the Congress ; you are not a native of India,' Mr. Tata replied sharply, 'If I am not a native of India, what am I ?' For he was an Indian first, and a Parsee afterwards" (p. 266).

When Tata made up his mind that he would devote a part of his fortune for the promotion of education in India and asked suggestions from his friends, one suggested to him that he should devote the amount for the welfare of the Parsee community. The great Indian patriot who thought of all India and welfare of all Indian communities ignored the suggestion and decided to spend his fortune for the spread of higher scientific education on the basis of promotion of national efficiency.

In 1892 Tata decided to send every year a few chosen Indian scholars to foreign lands, particularly to England, for higher education. Tata would not encourage anything which savoured of charity. Year by year he selected brilliant men and lent to each, at a nominal rate of interest, the money required for a course of study, allowing them to repay the loan in instalments according to their earning capacity. By this means the fund was conserved for future generations. "This fund has provided for more than 51 scholars who are members of Indian Civil Service, engineers, educationalists, physicians and barristers. And these scholars have been chosen without any thought of communal preference.

To-day the greatest curse of India is the spirit of communalism, fostered by selfish and short-sighted Indian politicians and the British Indian authorities who are not anxious to see India united on the soundest principle of national unity. Tata's example should inspire Indian patriots of far-sight and vision to take steps by which the demon of communalism be crushed once for all. Time has come that the motto of "India First and No Communalism" be written on the banner of Indian Nationalism.

III

India for the Indians.

At the bottom of his heart, Tata wanted "India for the Indians." He was not a visionary, but a practical statesman and "caution formed his guiding line in his life." He realized that India was lagging behind, for about a century, in the field of the development of economic life of the people. He felt most keenly that salvation of India lay in increasing national efficiency so that Indian people would be able to make it possible that India will be for Indians.

Tata was interested in developing Indian Industries and his first effort was in the field of "Textile industry." There he used the most modern machinery, most up-to-date expert management and it was all for the promotion of economic status of the country. Long before "Swadeshi Movement" came in existence in Indian political life, Tata was for Swadeshi, in the broadest sense of the word. He realized that true Swadeshi did not mean clinging to the crude and antiquated means of production and distribution, but in using the best of the scientific methods. He was so Swadeshi in spirit that he named one of his mills as "Swadeshi Mill." He wanted to do all that was possible to improve the Indian cotton industry and spent his time and money not only in the problems of production, and securing foreign markets, but he did his share to encourage that India should produce long-staple cotton. He experimented in silk culture and did his best to revive Indian silk industry.

His faith in the doctrine of "India for the Indians" was based upon the fact that he

> "was not prepared to admit that the natural attainments of Indian students were inferior to the European, but he recognized that the Indian suffered somewhat in the educational handicap...Mr. Tata saw that the curriculum of an Indian university was hardly calculated to engender originality or to develop independence of mind" (p. 126).

Tata wanted to introduce all that is best in the world in Indian educational, commercial and social life. He often felt that India should learn from the American capitalists the zeal and methods of organization, from the Germans the methods of using the scientific discoveries in the field of industry and commerce and from Japan learn the process of adaptation to cope with the competition of the western world. Tata understood Japan well and cherished a very sincere admiration for the Japanese people. The Japanese Government recognized the greatness of the great Indian patriot more than the British Government and conferred upon him some Decoration as a mark of distinction.

Tata had faith in constructive work and education; and placed a vast fortune of thirty lacs of rupees which would produce an annual income of Rs. 1,25,000, as a Trust Fund to develop a far-reaching scheme for the promotion of scientific education in India. This vast property which was capitalised at thirty lacs, is worth much more than that amount and to-day its income is more than twice the amount originally expected. The spirit that prompted Tata to spend a vast fortune for scientific education in India can be well understood from the following :—

> " When the idea of the Institute of Science first entered his mind, he determined to choose a cool and healthy site, well above the sea-level, and to extend the benefits of his project to men of mature age....He aimed at delivering the student from the tyranny of books, examinations, and lectures, by introducing a replica of the tutorial system, and transplanting to the East something of that spirit which is generated at the fire-sides of ancient foundations, or by that co-operation with the professor, characteristic of the German Seminar......The bent of Mr. Tata's mind inclined towards those who were advocating greater attention to scientific studies. He was much impressed with the progress of the rising Powers. He saw in America, Germany and Japan the prosperity which the application of science to industry had already produced. That a Japanese should hold a professorial chair in Chicago touched the pride of a man who believed that, given opportunity, an Indian could equally contribute his share to the advancement of learning. He justified his belief by pointing to the valuable researches of Dr. Row, one of the Tata scholars, who had already gained a distinction as a bacteriologist. In addition, the industrial undertakings of his firm had made him acquainted with the undeveloped resources of India, and he determined, by means of the endowment, to further the industrial welfare of his country....It was suggested, however, that the benefaction should take the form of a separate University or Institute of Research open to the graduates of all existing universities, and that it should be fully equipped with the necessary staff of teachers and with laboratories, a museum and a library....He looked forward for a day when the most able of the post-graduates should be selected for further training in Europe and America, in order that they might, in their turn, come back and strengthen the fabric which he built. It was, therefore, necessary that ample provision should be made for fellowships, and that scholarships should be liberally endowed " (pp. 120-133).

In formulating the scheme of the Indian Institute of Science, one man played the most important part to whom Mr. Tata trusted to make investigations and report his observations. It was Mr. Padshah, a trusted friend and co-worker of Tata and who also had the same feeling for the service of Mother India as Mr. Tata. Mr. Padshah in a letter to

Mr. Lovat Fraser gives a very interesting insight of Tata's method of work-service to Mother India—

> " He (Tata) was of opinion that service to the needy could no more be made without brains, without investigation, without concentration on particular aspects, than the production of any other species of goods " (p. 120).

In this connection it will be of interest to observe what was the original scheme of Tata, as presented to him by Mr. Padshah, regarding the Tata Educational Foundation.

> "In December, 1898, the proposals for the Imperial University of India, as it was then called, were made public, these financial arrangements remained purely tentative. The scope of the new benefaction was more definitely settled. The famous Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, was chosen a model. A provisional scheme, embodying the chief results of Mr. Padshah's inquiries, was prepared by the Provisional Committee for presentation to the Government. At the outset it was made clear that the primary aim of the new foundation was to teach and not to examine, but it was hoped that the power to confer degrees would be granted. Post-graduate courses were designed, modelled upon the research work carried out in England, France, Germany, and America. Special courses were to be held, including courses in sanitary science for qualified medical men, and technical courses for those who had chosen a commercial career. For others who intended to follow the educational profession there was to be a course in Pedagogics, a science which at the time was receiving considerable attention in Germany, Switzerland, and America, and was even edging its way into the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It was not, however, intended that this comprehensive programme should be launched at once, but that the gradual creation of the successive faculties should be left to the discretion of the Committee " (p. 132).

It is not possible to discuss in detail what Tata did to secure support from the Government of India and others. He died before his scheme was even put into operation with a very limited scope. Not until 1911, that is more than fifteen years after the scheme was projected by Tata, and long after his death the Indian Institute of Science was opened by the Maharaja of Mysore at Bangalore. It should be emphasised that if Sir Ratan Tata and Dorab Tata and Mr. Padshah and others were not loyal to Tata's ideals, there would not have been any Indian Institute of Science at all. The Indian Institute of Science has not yet fulfilled Tata's scheme, and it will remain with the present generation of Indian patriots to make it an accomplished fact.

While Tata was interested in higher scientific education for Indians, he always did his best to afford opportunities to the workingmen of his mills for higher and practical education. "Let Indians learn to do things for themselves" (p. 287) was his motto. In establishing the great Steel and Iron Industry and the Hydro-electric projects, Tata's descendants have followed the same ideal. They have hired the best experts from all parts of the world and at the same time they are following the path of training Indians, so that "India will be for the Indians and run by Indians."

IV

Tata's Unfinished Work.

"A country which relies upon the ships of her rivals accepts a permanent handicap, and India suffered, as she still suffers, from such an unenviable position." Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata, as an Indian patriot and industrial magnate, realized this to the fullest extent and tried his best to inaugurate an Indian National Steamship Line under the name of Tata & Co. The story of his efforts in this field of establishing Indian National Mercantile Marine has not attracted the attention of the Indian nation, as it should. "In fact the Encyclopaedia Britannica, in a brief notice of Mr. Tata's life, published in the eleventh edition, Vol. XXVI, page 448, makes the following misstatement:

> "One of his best-known achievements was the lowering of the freights on Indian goods to China and Japan as the result of a long struggle with the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Co,"

The truth is that Mr. Tata secured the aid of Nippon Yusen Co. in his fight against the P. & O. Company and the latter's allies. Mr. Harris records the history of Tata's heroic fight and its failure in the following way :—

> "Mr. Tata had fought the rates charged by the Peninsular and Oriental line particularly on yarns, and had done so in co-operation with the Rubbatino Company, an Italian line, and later with the Austrian Lloyd. *After a year of struggle he was defeated for the two companies, on whom he relied, deserted him and entered into an agreement with the P. & O. As the exports of Indian cotton and yarn to China and Japan increased in volume, the three companies, supported by their respective Governments, formed a ring, and raised the charges to the exorbitant height of 13 and even 19 rupees on a cubic ton.* Any further attempt to break down monopoly needed courage, but Mr. Tata arrived in Japan with the object of doing so. While in Tokyo he saw the Directors of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha line, who were ready to compete in the China trade, provided Mr. Tata was prepared to take an equal risk, and to run steamers of his own. He signed an agreement with the N. Y. K. for the carriage of Indian cotton goods at a cheaper rate.
>
> "After leaving Japan, Mr. Tata travelled first to Canada and thence to America, where he visited the Chicago Exhibition. He then proceeded to England. During his journey he had liesure for thought, and his determination to compete against the larger lines took practical shape. As soon as he arrived in London he chartered an English vessel, the *Annie Barrow,* at the rate of £1,050 a month. He decided to build up a line of his own, and began to work with great spirit, and with hopes which were unhappily frustrated....Within a few months two ships of the Tata Line, the *Annie Barrow* and the *Lindisfarne,* with two Japanese vessels, began their chequered career. Each vessel was to run once a month, carrying coal, glass, matches, lamps, and other exports from Japan, and returning thence, laden with cotton goods and yarn."

Tata's enterprise was defeated by unjust and underhanded competition of P. & O. Co. which was supported by the British Government. The British Government not only aided the P. & O. Company, but took the attitude that Tata was aiding Japanese commerce against the British interest. Over and above these, the Indian businessmen also deserted Tata in his fight, when the Japanese loyally co-operated with Tata. Although Tata failed in his efforts the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Company recognized the fact that it was through Tata's efforts the Japanese mercantile marine secured a lead in acquiring a profitable trade. Mr. Tata in a pamphlet entitled "The War of Freights" has left an account of this bitter struggle and Mr. Harris writes:—

"At the outset the Indian Press commended the extreme pluck, energy and perseverance with which the Tatas had endeavoured to break a monopoly; the effort had been the subject of general praise in the industrial centres of India. Praise was premature, for the rivals were too strong. Against the P. and O. freight of 19 rupees, only 12 rupees per ton of 40 cubic feet was charged by the infant company. The reduction in the rates for cotton, yarn, and opium varied from 29 to 47 per cent. What Mr. Tata called the 'war of freights' then began in earnest, for the P. & O. and even its colleagues lowered their rates to 1½ rupees, and even made the *unusual offer of carrying cotton to Japan free of charge.* The reductions made by the older companies were given in the form of rebates, and could only be obtained if the shipper signed a declaration, that he had not, during that period, been interested in any shipment between Japan, China and Bombay, made by any vessel belonging to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha or Tata Lines. In addition to this cut in the cost of freightage, *the new Company found that an attempt was made to disparage their vessels in the maritime insurance market. The* Lindisfarne, *chartered from an English firm, was privately reported as unfit to carry cotton*....It was not the first time within his experience that the P. and O. Company had fought down charges, until their rivals were driven from the field: once that object was attained, the rates were raised as high as before, or higher, by way of punishing temporary deserters to the rival line....In addressing the Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Tata Line, the owner laid great stress on the privileged position of the P. and O. Company, towards whose subsidy the revenue of India made a substantial contribution. 'This Company,' he said, 'to whose prosperity the taxpayers of India may lay some claim to have contributed, has driven off all legitimate competition from time to time, either by reducing rates to so low a limit as to exhaust the resources of its rivals, or failing in that respect, taking such powerful rivals into partnership.' The Indian shippers had been forced to endure this tyranny, and had been unsuccessful in their attempts to evade it....He asked the Government to afford any legitimate help that the new line might need for the encouragement and promotion of its welfare. Before concluding his appeal, Mr. Tata drew attention to the unreasonable rates charged by his rivals, and to the system of rebate conceded to certain favored firms. He entered a protest against these unfair proceedings....*Had those engaged in the cotton and yarn trades supported Mr. Tata, his memorial might have carried more weight, but though the Japanese Cotton Buyers' Association kept to their agreement and shipped their cotton in his steamers, his Indian friends deserted him. One by one the cotton manufacturers of Bombay withdrew their contracts from the Tata Line*....Though he compelled the insurance agents to withdraw their allegations against the condition of the *Lindisfarne*, it was but an insignificant solace for the failure of a scheme which had cost him well over a lac of rupees. Within a year the chartered steamers were sent back to England, and the Tata Line was extinct" pp. (98-105).

National Mercantile Marine is one of the indispensable factors towards the promotion of Indian industries and commerce in an international scale. Tata fought for this but failed because his countrymen did not support him and the Government of India supported a foreign concern and its allies to the detriment of Indian interest. To-day there are some indications that Indian businessmen are interested in building up an Indian National Merchant Marine. Unless they take proper precaution, their very laudable efforts may result in failure. To insure national support to the cause of building up a National Mercantile Marine, it is necessary that there should be organized an All-India National Chamber of Commerce which among other activities will be committed to the policy of supporting Indian shipping against foreign competition. Secondly, it is necessary that the Indian Legislative Assembly pass a law by which all the coast-wise trade of India be carried on by Indian shipping corporations, as is the case with the coast-wise trade of the United States of America and other countries. Thirdly, it is necessary for India to adopt measures which will legally abolish any possibility of a cut-throat competition among various corporations to the detriment of the Indian industry. In this connection the example of the activities of the Inter-state Commerce Commission and Federal Trade Commission of the United States should be followed with such modifications as are necessary for the peculiar condition in India which is different from that of the United States. The Inter-state Commerce Commission has the full power to regulate freight rates or passenger rates in the United States which makes any rate-war by unlawful competition absolutely impossible.

The establishment of an Indian National Mercantile Marine which will meet India's national need is a national obligation and, let us hope, that through sustained efforts, it will be fulfilled in near future.

V

Personal Life.

Tata devoted his best energies for the promotion of Indian industries, education, and political and social progress of the land. But he had always ample time at his disposal to do his duty as a devoted husband, considerate father and anxious guardian for his relatives and dependents. He was a lover of art, and had one of the finest art-collections in India. He was open-minded and always respected honest views of others even if they were just opposite to those of his own. He was tolerant to all creeds, although devoted to his own. He had great faith in athletics and sports as an aid to promote healthy and clean life. His honest hard-working life with breadth of vision may be taken as an example of living the life of a truly religious man.

VI

Conclusion.

To me Tata was a great Indian patriot who tried to practise certain fundamental policies which he conceived to be for the best interest of the people of India. (1) He believed in self-help but at the same time as a practical statesman he wanted to secure co-operation of all for the success of his work, even forgetting the differences. This is best exemplified in his attitude towards the British Government. He was a severe critic of the Government in many matters, but in every laudable work he tried to seek Government co-operation. He knew that creating unnecessary opposition of an alien ruler or the present Government of India would not be an advantage to him. He was not dogmatic and wanted to carry out his plans in spite of opposition and did his best to win over the party opposing him by his own persistent policy. If one analyses his actions, such as supporting the Congress and seeking co-operation of the Government of India to carry out his various projects and at the same time mercilessly criticizing its currency and tariff policies, it seems clear that Tata was following the path which has been characterised as "Responsive Co-operation." (2) Tata not only believed in "India for the Indians," but he practised "India First" and for that reason he opposed all forms of Communalism in practice. He opposed patronage on the basis of communal strength, but always upheld the principle of employing the most efficient man for a position. All positions, public or private, to Tata was something like a public trust and thus he was an advocate for "Equal opportunity for all and no special privilege for any one person or a community." (3) Tata was an ardent champion of "Racial Equality—Racial Equality for Indians in India, within the British Empire and all over the world." He knew that the best way to enforce this ideal was to adopt means by which Indian National efficiency would increase to such a point that, it will not only be able to hold its own but surpass others in international competition. At the same time, he opposed every scheme in India, within the British Empire and all over the world, which will mean discrimination against Indians as Indians or Asiatics. Tata's life and activities present to us as the best example of a great Indian patriot working unceasingly, with a great hope and abiding confidence, in the future of his own people developing their national life on sound principles. His life will serve as a guide for the present generation and the posterity.

TARAKNATH DAS

SONG FOR DEAD LOVE[1]

Young love is dead. O ye in hell
who walk the ways of asphodel,
loose his bright limbs ; wreathe his black hair ;
let him not now
who lieth low,
let him not long be loveless there.

Green branches bring of fragrant bays;
in the still shadow-darkened ways
no ivy grows or bergamot.
Come ye more near
unto his bier.
Wherefore, I pray you, come ye not?

O hapless dead, are ye then bound
by the black burden of the ground.
Are cerecloths on breasts and knees
heavy to stir
under the myrrh,
and the low-linteled cypress trees ?

The bays are cut. The roots are chill.
In the strange chambers of the hill
he lies who lovely was enow.
Young love is dead,
over his head
forevermore the wind shall blow.

MARTHA KELLER

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[1] Reprinted from *The Bookman*, New York, June, 1926.

NATURE IN BARHUT SCULPTURES

The Barhut Jātaka-scenes contain representations of several interesting details of Indian life. These set forth rocky mountains, hills and precipices, forests and woodlands, lakes and rivers, seas and deserts, tanks and wells, cities and hermitages, towns and villages, parks and groves, gardens and funeral grounds, land and water, beasts and birds, reptiles and insects, fishes and flies, trees and creepers, shrubs and bushes, flowers and fruits, stones and jewels, men and women, apparels and ornaments, marks and signs, caves and mansions, weapons and conveyances, and sorrows and amusements as physical features and natural environments. The forests abound in fauna and flora, and the woodlands afford feeding grounds. Whether lakes or rivers, seas or deserts, parks or forests, there is not a region in nature which is not both a scene of life and of death, of peace and of disturbance, of security and of danger.

In one scene, the tigers or lions in a body appear in a woodland to victimise a herd of deer that has found there a grazing ground.[1] In a second, the crane-like birds are catching small fishes, swallowing insects or eating sea-weeds on the outer end of a strip of land under water during the high tide of a large river.[2] In a third, a she-cat offers herself to be the loving wife of a cock on a tree-top, meaning to induce him to come down, be within her reach and killed.[3] In a fourth, a wild duck is swallowing a large fish in a lake, and a monster crab is at a tug of war with a mighty elephant, the former forcibly dragging the latter towards it for its food and the latter with the help of his mate pulling up the former to crush it under his feet.[1] In a fifth, the cranes or ducks move about in a lotus-lake in search of food while a fox lies in wait or rushes forward to seize them.[2] In a sixth, two otters on the bank of a river quarrel with each other over the division of a red fish pulled out of water and killed by them, while a clever jackal volunteering to make an equitable division, walks off taking the lion's share and smiling. In a seventh, a fox in a forest follows a bull, intending to kill him, while the bull remaining in water on a marshy ground, skilfully leads the fox to a spot where a man-laid trap (vālasaṅghātayanta) was waiting to entrap and hang him up.[3] In an eighth, the monster fish Timiṅgila rises up in sea-water, and remains opening out his jaws after forcing out water from his belly and producing a depression and whirlpool, compelling the smaller fishes to rush into his mouth and endangering the passengers of the merchant vessels that happened to be within his purview.[4]

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[1] Cunningham's Stupa of Barhut, PL. XLIII. 4.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XIV (Inner Face).

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XLVII. 5.

There is one scene, in which a primitive hunter pierces with his spear a wild boar, attacked by his two dogs from two sides.[5] There is another, in which a professional hunter of the same savage stock starts with his old-fashioned bow and arrows for the woodland to kill an antelope, for whom he carefully laid a trap near a lake.[6] There is a third, in which a professional fowler, the hunter's weaker cousin, has succeeded in catching some quails with his net.[7] There is a fourth, in which a royal hunter, still retaining his old savage instinct, has made his way into a distant forest, armed with new-fashioned bow and arrows, and is cutting the teeth of a six-tusked elephant with a saw, to collect ivory for a queen at the cost of the noble beast's life.[1] There is a fifth, in which a king has gone into a forest with his large bow and sharp arrows to shoot a deer-king who lived peacefully near a river.[2] There is a sixth, in which one sees a royal camp in a forest guarding a banian tree with delicious fruits and surrounding a troop of monkeys that came to enjoy the bounties of nature.[3] There is a seventh, in which an execution-block has been permanently laid in a royal garden for daily beheading with an axe a forced and apparently a willing victim among the imprisoned deer.[4]

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 2.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XXI. 3.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XLVI. 2.

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XXVII. 10.

[5] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIV. 2.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIV. 3.

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XXVII. 9.

Now look into a scene, where a queen takes pride in convincing the king of her maternity.[5] Look into another, where the very idea of the advent of a new child sets the heavenly damsels sing the joy, accompanied by music and dancing.[6] Look into a third, where the angels come down in a body to greet the newly born human child and announce the glory of the world that lies before it.[7] But look into a fourth, where a king, ashamed of his son because of his incurable dumbness and lameness, asks the royal charioteer to carry him to a charnel-field and bury him alive in a grave.[8] Look, if you have patience, into a fifth, where a wicked housewife poisons the food she cooks to get rid of her husband and conspires with a second man to kill her two children by poison and that only to suffer a condign punishment here and a severer consequence hereafter.[9]

In one scene, the chance of marrying the daughter of a golden mallard, king of the birds, makes a peacock rapturously

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XXVI. 6.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 1.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIII. 4.

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XLIII. 2.

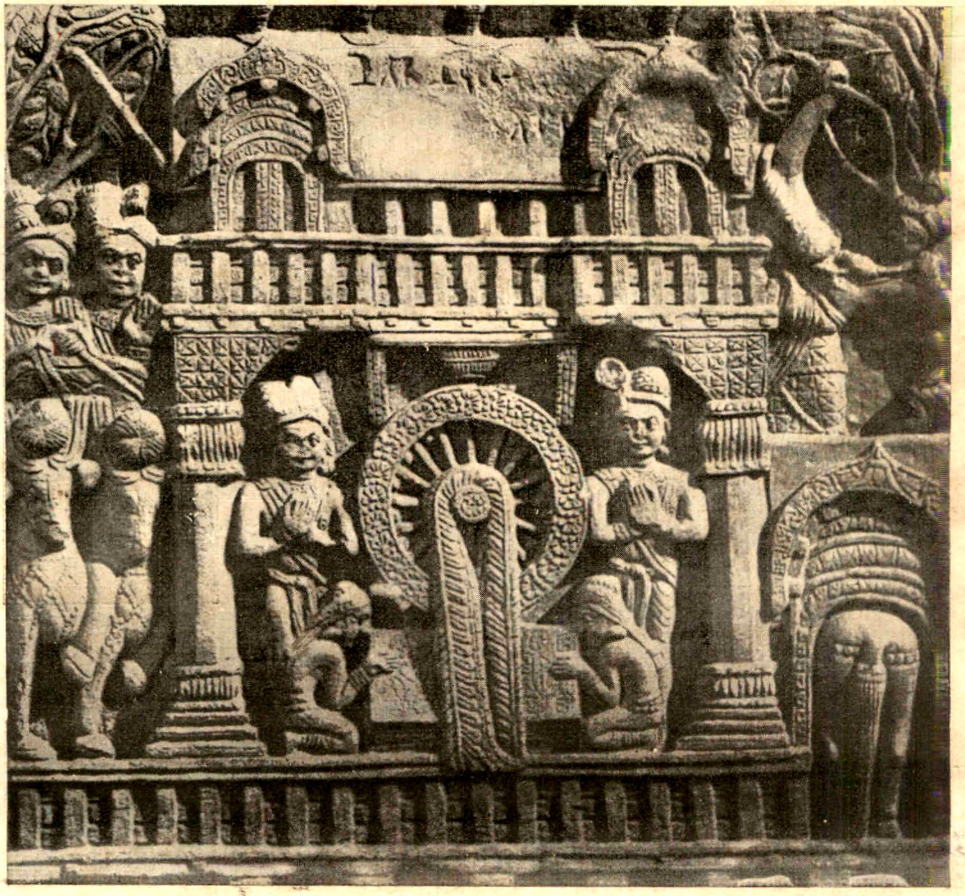
[5] *Ibid*, PL. XLV. 3.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XV. (Outer Face).

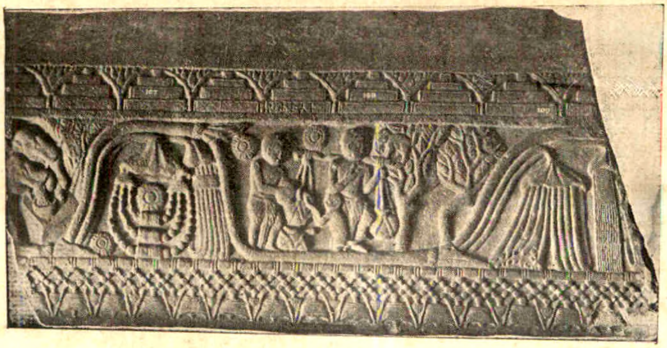
[7] *Ibid*, PL. XVI. (Middle Bas-Relief).

[8] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 4.

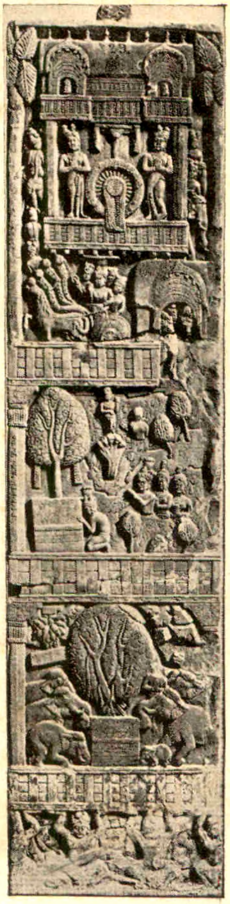
[9] *Ibid*, PL. XL. 2-5.



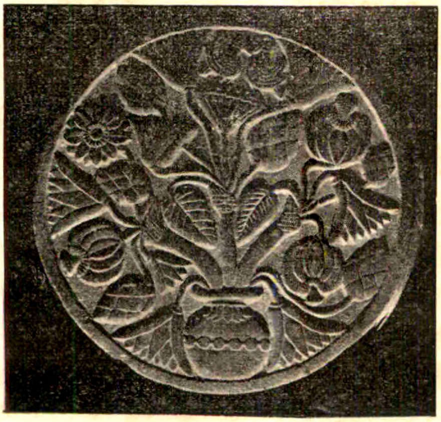
Viḍuḍabha's March : Non-violent attitude of the Sakyas



Grimace for Kindness

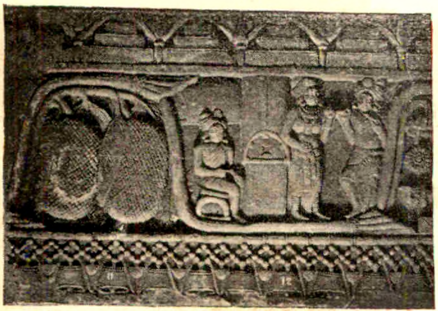


B

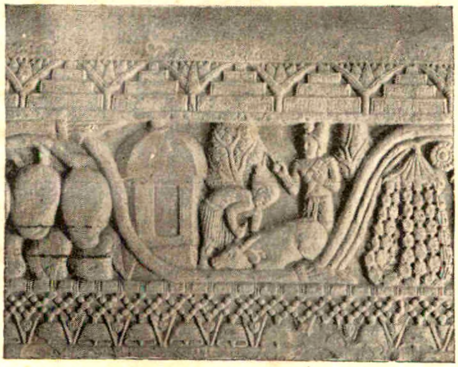


Tree of Life

B—Attraction of Beauty



Young Smith Hawking Needles



Ascetic mourning over the death
of his pet deer

dance, displaying the wealth of his plumage.[1] In another, the voice of a she-elephant induces a monster crab to loosen its grip only to hasten its own destruction.[2] In a third, a Brahmin youth learns wisdom to answer the questions of a Nāga maiden and walks into a large flowing river to reach her.[3] In a fourth, a daring Yakṣa, the nephew of Vaiśravaṇa Kuvera, artfully gets possession of Vidura, the wise Kuru-councillor, carries him through the air and tries to kill him by striking his head against rocks for the sake of a Nāga princess he wanted to marry.[4] In a fifth, the attraction of a Kinnari compels a king to seize her forcibly and make a shameless offer of love.[5] In a sixth, a young man lies down in a charnel-grove, pretending to be dead, as a means of getting hold of a young woman he loved and had her brought there.[6] In a seventh, a young smith invents some wonderful needles and goes out on a hawking errand for winning the affection of the head smith's daughter.[7]

Now mark the contrast. In one scene, a demon fails to prevent his wife, even by shutting her up in a box, from intriguing with a Vidyādhara.[8] In another, a Brahmin chaplain fails to protect his young wife even by rearing her up from her very birth in strict seclusion.[9] In a third, a headman enters on the pretext of demanding the price of the cow he lent into the house of another man of his village in the latter's absence and trembles in fear of detection in spite of the woman's clever attempt to prove his innocence to her husband.[10] In a fourth, a king detects the queen's love-intrigues and takes her to task for the same.[11] In a fifth, the king Janaka, determined to forsake the world, finds it difficult to do so for his queen who has followed him, entreating him to return.[1] In a sixth, at the suggestion of a courtezan, the Brahmin minister and afterwards the king believes a hermit to be an ill luck and trying to get rid of sin on his person humiliates him and brings ruin on himself and his kingdom in consequence.[2]

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XXVII. 11.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 2.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XIV (Inner face).

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XVIII.

[5] *Ibid*, PL. XX (Side).

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XLVII. 9.

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XLI. 5.

[8] *Ibid*, PL. XV. (Side).

[9] *Ibid*, PL. XXVI. 8.

[10] *Ibid*, PL. XLIV. 4.

[11] *Ibid*, PL. XIV (Side).

This is not all. Here again is a scene, in which a gluttonous crow sitting in the basket kept hanging from the roof of a house for giving shelter to wild pigeons coming as guests, as an expression of human cordiality, conceives a longing for some dishes prepared in the kitchen, only to endanger its life by going to taste something which is not its usual food.[3] Here is a second, in which a sharper concealing a dice by swallowing it against the rule of gambling as a means of deceiving, is himself deceived one day as he swallows the dice without knowing that it was rubbed with poison.[4] Here is a third, in which a snake bites and kills on the spot the only son of a Brahmin family, misapprehending his real intention.[5] Here is a fourth, in which, in spite of their best intentions, the monkeys destroy the young plants by uprooting them for watering.[6] Here is a fifth, in which a troop of monkeys proceeds, as a means of escape from the clutches of a giant, to capture and drag an elephant for extracting his teeth.[7] Here is a sixth, in which the usurper king of Kosala proceeds to invade Kapilavāstu and decimates the Śākyas in spite of their non-violent attitude.[8] Here is a seventh, in which a man breaks the head of a monkey who saves him.[9] Here is an eighth, in which a thirsty monkey returns the kindness of a Brahmin with grimace.[10] Here is a ninth, in which a man ungratefully betrays a deer-king who saves his life at the risk of his own.[11] Here is a tenth, in which an elephant ruthlessly kills an ascetic who rears him as his own son. In the same series there is one, where a ram strikes an ascetic on his thigh, fatally wounding the innocent man who stands showing respect to the beast and expecting the same in return.[1] There is another, where a happy Kinnara couple, captured and brought into the presence of a king, stand trembling in fear of life.[2] There is a third, where a powerful king is guarded by Amazonian women in apprehension of danger.[3] There is a fourth, where a poor man is groaning under the weight of a lord of wealth who uses him as his vehicle.[4]

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XLIV. 2.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XLVI. 4.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XLV. 7.

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XLV. 9.

[5] *Ibid*, PL. XLVII. 7.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XLV. 5.

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIII. 1-3.

[8] *Ibid*, PL. XXXI. 2.

[9] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIII. 5.

[10] *Ibid*, PL. XLVI. 8.

[11] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 1.

In one example, an ascetic who is supposed to be free from personal attachment and sorrow rears a pet deer, and bitterly laments over its loss.[5] In another, a second ascetic who is supposed to be free from all associations sadly misses the warmth of a serpent's embrace.[6] In a third, a third ascetic who is supposed to have foregone all earthly possessions keeps up an orchard and charges men with theft when the fruit-trees are plundered in his absence.[7] In a fourth, a *banghi*-load ascetic (Khāribhāra) who is supposed not to care for worldly honour, is mortally wounded by a ram as a result of false expectations of courtesy from the brute.[8] In a fifth, a wanderer who is supposed to have no slanderer and no fear of danger because of his innocence and goodness is warned by a dog as he comes to pay his usual visits to a royal palace intimating that the king instigated by some interested persons laid a plan to get rid of him.[9]

But look again and observe how the rose-apple trees, adorning the top of Mt. Naḍoda, supply the human couple in exile with delicious fruits,[10] or how a bushy creeping plant, growing on the same rocky mountain, is filled with juicy balm that serves to heal an obnoxious skin-disease.[1] See that a sandy desert, where the caravan merchants are in distress, contains in its bosom a stream of cool and refreshing water that gushes forth through a hole to quench the thirst of men.[2] Watch how the same Timiṅgila which has endangered the life of the crew and passengers of merchant vessels serves at last as a protector.[3]

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XLI. 1, 3.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XXVII. 12.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XVI (Lower Bas Relief).

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XXII (Kuvera).

[5] *Ibid*, PL. XLIII. 8.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XLII. 1.

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XLIV. 6.

[8] *Ibid*, PL. XLI. 1, 3.

[9] *Ibid*, PL. XXVII. 14.

[10] *Ibid*, PL. XLVIII. 11.

Mark how good motives have their play behind bad ones. The appearance of tigers on a grazing ground of deer is a cause of destruction of innocent life and of stinking smell, and at the same time their advents are a means of protection of the trees and jungles growing there.[4] The crocodile is undoubtedly the most dreadful agent of destruction of life in a river. This very crocodile appears to be a vehicle of Gaṅgā, the benign deity, who is the custodian of fishes and of the purity of water. The crocodile's presence and movements and ferocity serve to protect the fishes from attacks from outside, to maintain peace and equilibrium in the internal life of the river, as well as to save water from pollution by dead bodies. The movements of crocodiles, fishes and birds suggest the mechanism of the art of ship-building, while the trees cast adrift suggest the nature of required material.[5] The dragon is the most dreadful creature among the dwellers of a lake in the forest. The actual presence of this creature serves to protect the lake from foreign invasions and maintain the tension and equilibrium in its internal life.[6] The creation of a figure of dragon as a work of art and the installation of it in the bottom of a tank at the time of its excavation serve to protect its water from pollution and disturbance.[7] The masked warriors, serving as soldiers, are the dreaded agents employed by the state to protect the people from foreign

[1] *Ibid*, PL. XLVIII. 9.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIV. 1.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIV. 2.

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XLII. 5.

[5] *Ibid*, PL. XXXVI. 2.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XXI. 3 (Chakavaka).

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XXVIII. 1.

attacks and maintain internal peace and order. The figures of Yakṣas as a creation of art stand as guards for a sanctuary with all its enshrined precious objects.

Now observe, if you are interested, how necessity is the mother of invention and good cometh out of evil. The caravan merchants dying of thirst in a desert, make search for water, and eventually acquire the art of locating the spot where water can be had, and find out the means of having a supply of water by sinking wells.[1] The fascination of a maiden of high family leads a young smith to invent wonderful needles.[2] The earnest desire of a wood-pecker to rescue its friend the antelope enables it to devise various means.[3] The fear of life leads a troop of monkeys to devise the means of catching a mighty elephant and employing him to serve their purpose.[4] The dispute between two women about the ownership of a bundle of thread gives the banker's son an opportunity to display his power of judgment.[5] The instinct of self-preservation impels the spotted deer to learn ruses and develop a method of training therein.[6] The defiance on the part of resident pupils makes the teacher find out the way of taming them.[7] Disease compels man to extract healing balm.[8]

Nothing is absolutely good or bad. The goodness or badness of a thing arises merely from a relative judgment. The goodness or badness of an action is not inherent in it, but lies in the manner of doing it. The wood-pecker which is a bird of ill omen to a hunter, is a messenger of heaven to an antelope that is caught in the hunter's trap. The jackal who acts as a cheat to two otters proves to be a worthy husband to his mate.[9] The ascetic shows a magnanimity of human heart by rearing up a deer as his own son, but as an ascetic he betrays his weakness when he bitterly laments over its loss.[1] The use of oaths as a test of innocence of persons charged with theft by an ascetic on grounds of private ownership is bad.[2] The use of the same as a test by all persons to prove their innocence, of their own accord, is good.[3] The gathering of lotus-stalks with flowers is bad as it leads one to do injury to lotus plants. This is good when it is done by a son to carry food for his mother dying of hunger.[4] The plucking of flowers is bad for the same reason, but this is praised when it is done for making offering to a sanctuary.[5]

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIV. 1.

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XLI. 5.

[3] *Ibid*, PL. XXVII.

[4] *Ibid*, PL. XXXIII. 1-8.

[5] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 3.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. XLIV. 8.

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XLVIII. 4.

[8] *Ibid*, PL. XLVIII. 9.

[9] *Ibid*, PL. XLII. 2.

The realm of nature presents settlements with the predominance of a certain form of life or class of beings. This predominance results either from a purely natural evolution or from the human art of cultivation. A settlement with the predominance of the Śirīṣa trees becomes known as a Śirīṣa-forest.[6] An enclosure with the predominance of the fruit-trees is called an orchard,[7] and one with the predominance of the mango-plants comes to be distinguished as a mango-grove.[8] A woodland with the predominance of the deer is known as a deer-forest ; a jungle [9] with the predominance of the elephants among its inhabitants is designated an elephant-forest,[10] and one with the predominance of the monkeys, a monkey-forest.[11] A locality with the predominance of human beings becomes famous as a lokālaya or human habitat.[12]

In each group of living substances and in each class of living beings one sees the development of a type and the evolution of a great personality and a natural leadership. A tree endowed with personality and burdened with leadership reigns on the spot as lord of a forest.[1] An antelope with such personality and leadership comes to be recognised as the lord of a herd of deer,[2] an elephant that of a herd of elephants[3] a fish that of a swarm of fishes, a bird that of a flight of birds, a snake that of a class of reptiles, an animal that of a group of beasts, and a man that of a family of human beings. By virtue of personal majesty, nobility, power, energy and vigilance, unsurpassed by others, the Ānanda comes to be acknowledged as the king of the world of fishes, the golden mallard that of the world of birds, the lion that of the world of beasts, and the emperor that of the world of men. By a close association friendship grows among different classes of beings, among an antelope, a woodpecker and a tortoise;[4] between a man and a deer,[5] nay, between a man and such a deadly creature as a serpent.[6] By the extension of power the control of one world extends over another. From the development of communal life emanates the rule governing the conduct of individuals living under it, and the leader, lord or a king is expected to act as the custodian and upholder of the social order. Experience suggests that these rules cannot be uniformly enforced in all cases, and gradually mercy comes to be recognised as a principle above mere justice and the feeling grows that it is better to die under a leader with whom mercy is above justice than remain alive under one to whom the law is an end rather than a means.[7] The members of a class or those of a community rally for their self-interest round their own leader and form a regiment, some acting as generals, some as sentinels, some doing other works according to directions, parts and training.[8] Thus hierarchies develop within or go to form a larger hierarchy, the larger hierarchies develop within or go to form a still larger hierarchy *ad infinitum*, and all within an organic frame of natural evolution in the widest sense.

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[1] *Ibid,* PL. XLIII. 8.

[2] *Ibid,* PL. XLIV. 6.

[3] *Ibid,* PL. XLVIII. 17.

[4] *Ibid,* PL. XLIII. 6. XLVIII. 6.

[5] *Ibid,* PL. XXIX. 1-4.

[6] *Ibid,* PL. XIV (Inner face).

[7] *Ibid,* PL. XLV. 5.

[8] *Ibid,* PL. XVI (lower Bas-Relief).

[9] *Ibid,* PL. XLIII. 4.

[10] *Ibid,* PL. XXVI. 5.

[11] *Ibid,* PL. XLVI. 8.

[12] *Ibid,* PL. XXV. 3.

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XIV (Inner Face), XV (Inner Face).

[2] *Ibid*, PL. XXV. 1.

[3] *Ibid*, XXV. 2; XXVI. 6; XXVIII. 1.

[4] *Ibid*, XXVII. 9.

[5] *Ibid*, XLIII. 8.

[6] *Ibid*, PL. II. 1.

[7] *Ibid*, PL. XLIII. 2.

[8] *Ibid*, PL. XXVIII. 1 (Thikotika Cakama).

Willy nilly, the large majority of individuals accept this hierarchy as an established system. The few of them who are led by the separatist spirit become isolated, these latter individuals prove to be either saints or rogues. By virtue of isolation they gain greater chances of self-mastery or recklessness, of risks or achievements.[1] But whether saints or rogues they agree in one point, namely, that they protest against the existing order of things, and indicate that the present system is imperfect, or, at any rate, capable of improvements. By their actions and protestations they try to point out the defects of the system, to demolish it or to build a new edifice from the very ground.

All these create trying situations for the individuals. Those few individuals who can properly handle, watch or utilise them come to be recognised as Bodhisats or Wise Men.

While these situations puzzle others, the Bodhisats find in them opportunities for the manifestation of their greatness as setters of personal examples, or as moralisers, or as diviners of various means of escape. As teachers, leaders or observers, they surpass others and develop the qualities that go to make up their personality. The advent of some such wise man or the manifestation of some such wisdom takes place or is possible in one and all of the situations that arise in the whole of life.

Thus one gets the basis for generalisation and classification of the situations in life and no less of the virtues to be developed in them. The Buddhist Jātakas are just meant to serve as typical illustrations of the actual and possible situations in life and of the virtues that can be developed, the situations that a man has got to face as a king, as a councillor, as a saint, as a chaplain, as a teacher, as a pupil, as a trader, as a husbandman, and so on and so forth. The virtues are those that constitute the *sine qua non* of human aspirations and greatness.[1]

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[1] *Ibid*, PL. XXVI 5, XLII, 7.

The Jātakas, apart from being the results of a methodical survey of the entire realm of life and of the whole of nature as commonly cognised, form so many incidents in the life of one individual and represent a full scheme of biography. The history of the universe can be viewed in the light of manifestations and attainments of a single life, and told in the term of one evolving individual. This history kept within the bounds of nature as commonly known and within the limits of time-honoured tradition, reveals a process of advancement from darkness to light, from sleep to awakening, from unconsciousness to consciousness, from dumbness to self-expression, from hunger and thirst to abundance, and from contest to enjoyment. The Buddhist biography begins just when an individual becomes conscious enough to feel that he is destined to do something great in the world, doing good to himself, to his own people and to the world at large. Forthwith he forms a resolution to do or die, to fulfil the ends of his life at all costs. This is his *praṇidhāna* or resolution directing his will into a definite channel. He does not stop short there but proceeds to action (*Cariyā*), plunging himself into struggles. As he proceeds and advances, overcoming difficulties one after another, he secures encouragement and backing from some high personages who are far above the common level, and finds himself transported into a better family connecting him with the forefathers creating the nobler traditions. In this manner he maintains his activity and hopes in the midst of all obstacles and doubts and diffidence. Thus begins and proceeds onward the Bodhisattva career of an individual at a certain point or in a certain stage of natural evolution, where the universal history gravitates towards or merges in a continuous biography. It culminates in Buddhahood, at a certain point or in a certain stage of conscious evolution of the individual, where his mind, freed from all fetters and shackles and ordinary interests of life, sees or feels the whole of reality and proceeds to generate a process of thought with its impressions and concepts and causal mode, and stops where it discovers the eternal point touching all circles of thought and acquires the power of imagination creating infinite forms far beyond the actuality and possibility of nature as commonly known.

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[1] Majjhima-Nikāya, III, p. 99.

The elephant on the coping from whose mouth issues forth the creeper with its serpentine course symbolises the firmness of the will with which the individual, becoming a Bodhisattva, forms the resolution, while the creeper itself represents the career of the individual as a Bodhisattva. The coily folds of the creeper yield the panels filled alternately with the Jātaka-scenes and fruit or ornamental groupings. The Jātaka-scenes represent the particular effort made, and the groupings, the particular fruitions obtained. But never in experience the same efforts are made, nor are the same fruitions obtained. Each effort or fruition, considered *per se*, is unique. In a comparative view the efforts or fruitions appear as so many 'similars,' neither the same nor the other (*na ca saḥ na ca anyaḥ*). Each fold represents an undulation in the sea, a pulsation of life and an intuition of mind, all of which are realised in a single moment of consciousness. Intuition reveals the eternal present, memory recollects the past links, while imagination creates the future steps. In the Śaiva or panoramic view, the undulations show the rise and disappearance of forms of waves, in the Buddhist or straight view, the undulations present the procession of forms. Without birth and death, of which men are so much afraid, one cannot conceive this procession, and without them the life of the individual has no meaning at all. The notions of birth and death arise in the mind when its attention is concentrated upon the single form, isolated from the rest. The reality that flashes at every moment of intuition is an eternal present. The Buddhist artist feels sorry that he has got to represent time in the term of space, the eternal present in terms of a past, a present and a future.

If the procession of forms be the law, the question arises—what forms might possibly follow from the life and activity of the Buddha after his demise. According to the answers suggested, the forms might evolve bringing about great changes in the character of educational institutions, in the interpretation of the order of nature, in the imagination of the future of the world and in drawing the schemes of thought and of life. The Pāli Canonical book Apadāna gives a poetical description of the new educational institutions, represented as schools of eternal enquiry, situated in the midst of an ideal atmosphere of nature and art, where every one is a teacher and every one is a pupil. The decorative devises in Barhut medallions and flower compositions, represent the order of nature according to the changed interpretation.

In one of the full medallions, a peacock majestically stands, raising its tail erect and displaying a glorious wealth of plumage, while two other peacocks approaching from two sides, remain touching its feet with their beaks. In another, one sees the prosperity of a Dragon-chief who remains seated with a four-headed cobra-hood upon his turban and attended on two sides by two handsome mermaids. In a third, a crocodile appears in a lotus-tank with its head lifted above water, and remains eager to catch sight of light, forgetting to take its food. In a fourth, the bees are seen sucking honey in lotus flowers without doing harm to them, while a human devotee remains seated with joined hands. In some of the full and half medallions the lions, the elephants, the tortoises or the like are circumambulating a lotus-design without trenching upon one another. In some of the lotus medallions one sees the figures of the sun-gods, in some the chariots of the sun drawn by the winged lions or antelopes, in some the moon-deities holding mirrors, in some the stars, and in some the tree of life growing out of a lotus-pot. In some of the flower compositions on the bevelled edges, one sees the monkeys holding the bunches of fruits in their embrace, in some the squirrels nibbling the fruits, in some the parrots demonstrating the bounties of nature. In some of these compositions the male and female worshippers can be seen plucking flowers or fruits for making offerings. The lotus represents the sun, the human heart and the beautiful product of nature. Nature suggests a line of evolution in which it becomes possible for the different forms of life to gather food without doing injury. Nature presents a joyous scene in which the victims and victimisers remain side by side, with their eyes turned towards the glory of nature. There is throughout jollity and joviality in the midst of innocence. Art creates an eternal joyous situation in which all the luminaries, all the elemental forces, all kinds of life and all classes of beings participate, and lend their forms to it. It is suggested that all conflicts of thoughts and all clashes of interests can be removed and made significant by means of schemes allowing all the fullest scope for self-expression and free enjoyment. No scheme is perfect which leaves out any interest, no thought is perfect which ignores any standpoint, and no institution is perfect which cannot postulate elevation, and not depravity, as the real trend of nature as a whole.

B. M. Barua

MY JOURNEY

I bless not suns, the too meek slaves of Time,
Who hold up light to guide his godless march ;
I bless not Earth, the victim of his crime,
Who with her life-blood builds his triumphal arch.

I strove with Time, with strength born of the gale,
I halted on the bridge of day and night,
And rallied forces that would faint and fail,
And soared with them to topmost towers of light.

The sun and moon were specks of smallest might,
That footed in the slow and painful dance
Of massive planets trudging from the height,
Through murky airs amazed in death-like trance.

The nests of night were broken,—her vengeful claws
Tore off the veins of time and life-force slew—
Above small bursts of suns and stars' applause
I swam the infinite air's unspeckled blue.

NALINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

Reviews

The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law—Being a Treatise on the Law and Practice relating to Colonial Expansion—by M. F. Lindley, LL.D., B.Sc. (Lond.), of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Babstow Scholar and King Edward VII Memorial Scholar, London, Longmans Green & Co. Ltd. (1926), 391 pages.

This book is a systematic study on the subject of "The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law." Its special merit lies in the fact that the author has assembled materials of great importance, regarding the theory and practice of the Western nations in relation to the so-called backward peoples of the world.

From the perusal of the work it will be evident that in spite of the progress of International Law, the actual practice in dealing with the so-called backward nations is "Might is right." To uphold conquest in the form of effective occupation, the dominant nations do not depend upon legal sanction but upon political expediency; and the dominant motive for establishing effective occupation is acquisition of power. The author quotes Bluntschli who says: "the taking possession consists in the fact of organizing politically the recently discovered country, joined with the intention of their exercising power in future" (p. 141).

The author makes a short but lucid survey of the history of the legal theory behind the idea of territorial expansion and comes to the conclusion that from the standpoint of International Law, as it exists to-day, conquest of a so-called people by a powerful nation is not unlawful. The following will clarify the position of the author:

"European Powers assumed, as between themselves, that they could acquire any land not in the possession of Christians...(pp. 26-27).

"In Asia, where European dominion has been extended over vast territories, occupied by peoples who, though in a more advanced stage of civilization than the native races of America and Africa, would not as a rule be considered to be members of the Family of Nations, the mode of extension has also been conquest and cession" (page 31).

"But the degree to which recognition of the territorial rights of backward people is afforded in the present stage of development of International

Law should be clearly appreciated. While International Law should and does recognize the rights of independent backward races to the extent of distinguishing those territories to which a title may be acquired by the legally and morally legitimate method of occupation from those which, in the absence of consent on the part of the inhabitants, can be obtained by Conquest—or through Prescription—it does not, at present, go further and say that an acquisition by Conquest is not legitimate. On the contrary, once a conquest has become a *fait accompli*, International Law recognises its results....From the point of view of international morality there may be much to be said on both sides as to the legitimacy or the justice of a particular war of conquest. But such a war is neither justifiable nor unjustifiable by International Law. Various attempts have been made to define just causes of war—as we have seen, Grotius and others have declared that it is not a just cause of war to claim lands on the ground of discovery when they are already occupied by backward peoples, and have endeavoured to define the conditions under which a forcible expropriation of the natives would be justifiable. But International Law is not yet in a position to adopt such a proposition as one of its rules. All it can do is to say that a particular area is not *territorium nullius*, and, in the absence of consent on the part of natives, leave a State to justify its acquisition to public opinion as a conquest" (page 47).

The author discusses "Spheres of Influence" and acquisition of territories through International Agreement and examines the questions of Japanese expansion in Korea, French and Spanish Expansion in Morocco and British expansion in Tibet. He rightly regards that the Monroe Doctrine has no sanction in International Law, but it is merely a regional understanding among nations due to purely political consideration, and supports his contention by citing Article 21 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. He further says :—

"As recently as November 30, 1923, however, the United States Secretary of State in dealing with the Monroe Doctrine on the occasion of the centenary of its enunciation appears to have treated it as an expression of United States' policy—as a statement of the principle of opposition to action by non-American Powers—rather than as a rule of International Law. It would appear, therefore, that if the point should ever arise before an International Court, the right of European Powers to occupy land which is properly *territorium nullius* would be upheld if that land should happen to be situated in America no less than if it were in some other part of the world. As an expression of policy of the United

States, the (Monroe) doctrine is of supreme moment, and no European Power would lightly disregard it. But its importance is political and not legal" (p. 78).

Thus nations accept certain conditions in international relations and territorial arrangements not because it is based upon legality of such conditions, but purely on the ground of political expediency. The Monroe Doctrine is to-day respected by all nations of the world, because the United States of America has the power to enforce it and other Powers think it to be wise and more expedient to support the stand of the United States than to oppose it. So when Japanese statesmen talk of establishing an "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," to preserve territorial integrity of the Asian states and to permanently ward off European and American interference in the affairs of the Asian peoples, they are no less justified than the American statesmen. However, Japan, under the present state of World Politics and condition of Asia has not the power to enforce the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine in opposition to other Powers. As a matter of regional understanding, if Japan, China and other nations agree to proclaim the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine and can uphold it, in spite of opposition of other nations, there is nothing in International Law to declare such action as against the Laws of Nations.

The author's views on the establishment of 'mandatory system' is interesting and illuminating :

"It came, however, to be recognized that the mandatory principle provided the necessary *via media* between the annexation of colonial territories by the victorious Powers (which those Powers had disavowed) and the return of these territories to Germany and Turkey (which all were agreed was infeasible); and in the sequel it was to the ex-German colonies together with certain ex-Turkish territories, that under the influence of President Wilson, the mandatory system was applied by the Peace Conference" (p. 248).

It is interesting to note that the Class C Mandates are such territories which are being administered as "integral portions of the territory of the Mandatory Power, subject to the safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population." So we see that German South West Africa has become the integral portion of the Union of South Africa, similarly Samoa virtually belongs to New Zealand, Naru to Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand and Japan has "Yap and other German Islands in the Pacific north of the Equator." It should be noted that in the Class C mandates there is no sovereignty of native authorities. "In Iraq (which belongs to the Class A Mandate) the sovereignty is divided between His Britannic Majesty and the King of Iraq" (p. 264). Strictly speaking, there can be no divided sovereignty, so in some sense Iraq is virtually a British protectorate. It is needless to add that the native peoples, whose territories (Central African) are classed within the category of Class B mandate, do not possess any form of sovereign authority. But in these territories equal opportunities for commerce are afforded to the members of the League of Nations. Thus it may be well asserted that the establishment of Mandatory system is nothing but an arrangement of governing and controlling territories by Great Powers through a political understanding amongst themselves. Is it not an expediency?

The author discusses the status of various forms of "protectorates" including the "Native States of India." He compares the Indian Native States with African Protectorates and writes:—

"A comparison of the Indian protectorates with those which later on were set up by the European Powers in Africa shows that, while in many respects they differ widely, in others they exhibit a good deal of similarity. *In both cases they have formed an important feature of the process by which the extension of European sovereignty has been effected.*

"The peoples with whom the British came in contact in India were considerably more advanced and powerful than the natives of Africa; the local Governments were of a more developed type; the opposition to be overcome was more formidable; and the military operations were more serious undertakings. These conditions had their influence on the course of the relations between the Company and the native princes, and their effect is seen in the structure of the earliest treaties, which were mostly treaties of alliance and friendship as between equals. The later treaties, however, approximated more closely to the type common in Africa; *and if we take a broad survey of the two systems of protectorates as they stand at present, several points of resemblance emerge.*

"In both cases, the external sovereignty is always completely under the control of the protecting Power, while the internal sovereignty is divided between that Power and the local authority in proportions which vary from one extreme where, as in the case of Hyderabad or Zanzibar, almost all the internal sovereignty is left to the native Government, to the other extreme where, the whole of it has passed from the local chiefs to the protecting Power. *In both India and Africa, the tendency has been for the protecting Power to increase its control over internal affairs. In India this has been effected mainly by emphasizing and regularising the duties which the* *native princes owe to the paramount Power; in Africa by more direct action in the various branches of administrative Government.*

"Annexations of protected territory have taken place in India as in Africa. In Africa, the process of appropriating more and more of the internal sovereignty of the protected countries on the part of various European Powers has been repeatedly marked by annexations. *In India, owing to the fact that only one European Power is concerned, and the territories under its protection are closely intermingled with the regions under its complete sovereignty, it has been possible to frame and carry out a policy for the protectorates as a group, and so to bind together the protectorates and the annexed territory into a coherent whole within which good government can be assured, and the rule of Great Britain over the whole peninsula assured, without proceeding to further annexations*" (*pp.* 200-201).

Thus it is clear that the very purpose of establishing Protectorates, is nothing less than extension of European sovereignty by any means, and the methods vary to suit the international situation; and the principle that governs and controls the conduct of the so-called protecting Power towards the protectorates, is not the principles of International Law and morality, but mere political expediency, backed up by actual force of arms.

In further discussion on the status of Indian States, the author makes it clear that the so-called sovereign rights of the Indian princes are nothing but something mythical and the tendency of the British Government in India is to absorb the Indian States within the full control of the Paramount Power. He thinks that this process of absorption, through indirect as well as direct means, is going on uninterruptedly. He points out the following facts:

"It does not follow that the ties which bind the Native States to the Government of India have not been growing stronger during that time [from the days of the Sepoy Mutiny up to the present.] On the contrary, *evidence is plentiful that the British control over the unannexed portions of India has been extended and intensified and rendered more enduring.* As examples of such evidence, the following facts may be noticed.

"(*1*) *The relations between Great Britain and the Native States, which in the days of the Company, were not considered to be outside the purview of the Law of Nations, are now so close that that Law has no application to them.* In 1826 in a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the East India Company and the Rajah of Nagpore, the preceding Rajah was said to have made an attack upon the British troops in violation of public faith and of the laws of nations. In 1831, in an announcement published in the official Gazette of India, it was stated that:

"The principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India, as representing the Queen-Empress on the one hand and the Native States *under* the suzerainty of Her Majesty on the other. The paramount supremacy of the former pre-supposes and implies the subordination of the latter.' [The author makes reference to Sir William Lee-Warner's work on " The Native States of India."]

" (2) The older expression 'alliance' or ' subordinate alliance,' which had been used to describe the relationship between the Government of India and native States, was replaced in the Interpretation Act 1889- by the term 'suzerainty' which, as Sir Courtney Ilbert puts it, corresponds more accurately to the existing relations. [The author here refers to Chapter III of the Government of India by Sir Courtney Ilbert.]

(3) While the nature of the relations between the British Government and the native princes has been, and still is, to a large extent left undefined, *that very fact has helped to enhance the supremacy of the suzerain and regularise the subordinate position of the Native States, by allowing scope for the operation of certain broad principles that have been followed by the British Government.* Those principles may be stated as follows: The body of treaties in existence between the British Government and the native princes must be read as a whole, and general rules laid down for one of the princes, apply to all of them ; so that, when the provisions relating to such matters as military policy, the suppression of inhuman practices, the claims of the paramount Power to co-operation, or its rights of interference, have been revised in the case of any one State, that revision is to be taken as extending to them all.

" Thus while the territories of the protected Princes have in a physical sense, been gradually connected more and more closely with British India by an ever increasing network of roads, railways and telegraphs, *the political ties which connect the protected States to the Suzerain Powers have been continuously multiplied, developed and strengthened. The process has not been directed towards annexation, because the British Government, as a matter of settled policy, has adopted the method of controlling the internal administration upon the broad lines, instead of carrying it out directly as in the surrounding territory. Still the States form, and are recognized by the members of the International Family, as forming component parts of the empire which embraces the whole of India; and enjoying in that position a considerable amount of freedom in regard to internal affairs, they occupy a unique position among the protectorates of the colonial type*" (pp. 198-200).

Thus Native States of India are not Sovereign States, but British protectorates of the colonial type; and in the matter of exerting British control over them even in their internal affairs there is no limitation. All the native Princes from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Maharajah of Cooch-Behar belong to the same category of feudal lords, even if one gets the salute of twenty-one guns and the other less. All the external signs of sovereignty of the Indian Princes are like trinkets given to the grown-up babies by their guardians. The recent events, such as deposing of the Maharja of Nabha, abdication of the Maharaja of Indore and the ultimatum of the Government of India to the Nizam to comply with the wishes of the Paramount Power, regarding the internal administration of his State, and the appointment of Sir Charles Todhunter, as the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, justify the theory expounded by the author.

In conclusion, it can be said that in the dealings between the protected States, which are classed as a kind of Backward territory, European Powers are not to think of International Law: they are to use their judgment of applying political expediency, supported by international understanding. The European Powers are carrying out this policy of action and will continue to do so as long as the people of Asia and Africa fail to assert their sovereign rights in the field of world politics. The contents of the book may not be palatable to the people of Asia and Africa, but the book is extremely valuable be it bares the facts in relation to the acquisition and government of backward territory in International Law.[1]

TARAKNATH DAS

1. **Le Rasa**—Essai sur l'esthétique indienne—Par Subodh Chandra Mukerjee. Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1926 (pp. viii+128).

2. **The Natyasastra** of Bharata, Chapter Six (Rasādhyāyaḥ, "On the Sentiments"), with the Abhinavabharati, a commentary by Abhinavagupta. Edited, with an English translation of the Rasādhyāyaḥ, by Subodh Chandra Mukerjee Sastri (1926). (Pp. xii+118+21.)

These two volumes have won for their author the "State Doctorate" (*doctorat ès lettres*) from the Paris University. And Dr. Mukerjee deserves congratulations as the first Indian to receive this honour. It may not be generally known here that the State Doctorate requires two theses, one called the "principal" and the other the "secondary" thesis. *Le Rasa* is perhaps the shortest thesis that was ever accorded similar recognition. It is probably also the sweetest, as it relates to *rasa*, that is, to what makes literature sweet.

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[1] *Note.*—Italics are mine.

Le Rasa gives itself the modest designation of an *essai.* We should not, therefore, demand from it anything like a complete enumeration of facts and details. But we have a right to expect an easy flow from idea to idea serving to fix, once and for all, our growing sense of loyalty to the cult which it is the essayist's intention to preach. This expectation is amply realized in Dr. Mukerjee's essay. It lights up, slowly, artistically and inevitably, the processes whereby the human mind may be said to enjoy itself.

Our author begins formally with a discussion of the radical meaning of the word *rasa* which, he thinks, is best rendered in French and English as *Sentiment.* And, after warning the reader that Sanskrit psychologists do not admit the existence of a Sentiment in itself, independently of the way in which one experiences it, he proceeds to describe and illustrate, with literary examples bespeaking a wide range of study, the eight or ten classes into which Sentiment has usually been divided by Hindu writers on *rasa.* That finishes the first chapter. The next chapter deals with the constituent elements of the Sentiments, technically known as *bhāvas*, followed by an Analysis of the *rasas* (Ch. III). The fourth chapter, entitled "Some conventions respecting the Rasas," is much too short and barely mentions the different colours and deities assigned by convention to the different sentiments, the convention finding artistic expression chiefly in painting. Such a mere passing reference to an important topic is perhaps to be regretted. Painting is a *genre* of art wherein the psychology of sentiments plays an important role ; and, though an accurate analysis remains a desideratum, the fact that colours and combinations of colours have power to evoke sentiments is indubitable. Our author is here evidently in a hurry to pass on (Ch. V) to a consideration of the mutual relations among the *rasas,* as conceived by various writers from "Bharata" downwards, leading up to a list of Incompatible Sentiments. The author is now (Ch. VI) in a position to offer some general remarks on the nature of *rasas* ; that it is not a product, different from sensation, but is sensation itself, perceived as an entity ; that it is impersonal and independent of Time and Place ; closing with the profound observation that the universal and generic nature of literary Sentiment distinguishes it from the emotions of every-day life, and is the reason why the feelings of grief, aversion, terror, etc., which are matters of distressing experience in daily life, appear, when represented on the stage, to arouse a pleasurable sensation in the minds of the spectators. Such is in reality the explanation offered, as our author modestly puts it, by writers on Sanskrit poetics when they say that *rasa* is a super-physical (*alaukika*) sensation in which the principles of Light (*rajas*) and of Darkness (*tamas*) have been subjugated, and the principle of Purity (*sattva*) has gained the upper hand.

We are now on the border-line between Aesthetics and Philosophy; and Dr. Mukerjee does well to present his readers (Ch. VII) with a rapid sketch of the Hindu Analysis of Mind. This serves as a preliminary aid to a comprehension of the different theories proposed by commentators on Bharata in order to explain the processes by which *rasa* is perceived. The commentaries themselves are preserved to us only in citations made by Abhinavagupta who, however, is a hostile critic, more concerned to demonstrate his own doctrines than to set forth the theories of his predecessors. Dr. Mukerjee passes in review the different theories from Lollata through Sankuka and Bhattanayaka, to Abhinavagupta,—theories coloured by notions pertaining to the different philosophical schools, the Mimāṁsā, the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta.

The next few pages (Ch. VIII) trace the historical development of the *rasa*-theory. Chronology has stepped in; and the results of Dr. S. K. De (*History of Sanskrit Poetics*) prove handy to Dr. Mukerjee.

It now remains for our author to offer his own criticisms on the ancient theories (Ch. IX). In fact, it is in this last chapter that we really get at our author. He has hitherto been narrative rather than critical. In course of his narrative, we have observed his lucidity of expression and his accuracy in rendering Sanskrit verses into French prose. The concluding chapter reveals to us a Master-mind, a creative critic, who glides, with evident ease, from the Mṛcchakaṭika to Moliere, from Descartes, Bain, Mercier, Herbert and Ribot to Rudraṭa and Bhaṭṭanāyaka. Mukerjee perceives a real resemblance between the results of modern European psychologists, on the one hand, and those achieved by ancient Hindu theorists, on the other; the threefold transformation termed *vikāśa, vistāra* and *druti* corresponding to the three fundamentals of Frappa. After touching on the ways in which sentiments decline or change their nature and explaining why a permanent and rigorous classification of the sentiments is impossible, the author winds up his enquiry with a brief exposition of the different gamuts of sentiment upon which the poet has to play, according as he wishes to produce an epic, a lyric or a dramatic poem.

Dr. Mukerjee's second thesis is a sort of documentation to his principal thesis It is a sample of how the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata—our oldest existing treatise on Dramaturgy—may be edited. The text, as well as the commentary, is provided with a full apparatus of variants and the co-ordination between the two is very satisfactory, as it does away with the worry of fumbling from page to page of the commentary in an intensive study of the text. The Introduction contains a valuable suggestion as to the origin of the *sūtras*, *bhāsyas* and *karikas*. We may now look forward to a complete, critical edition of the Nāṭyaśāstra, with the illuminating commentary of Abhinavagupta, which can rival, in fame, the *Poetics* of Aristotle.

Throughout his investigations, the author evinces a genuine love of simplicity, an entire lack of pedantry, and an utter absence of prolixity. He received his early training from the Calcutta University and had a brilliant career there. He was also for some time a Lecturer in its Post-Graduate Department. It is refreshing to find in him the same devotion to intellectual culture as characterized his career at the Calcutta University.

H. K. D.

Captures—The Under-Dog—by John Galsworthy.

The danger of writing about the under-dog is that of being too sentimental or melodramatic—writing pretty or lurid stories with miraculous endings—turning men and women into imaginary angels or devils—never creating human beings.

Such an attitude is totally alien to an artist like John Galsworthy.

Galsworthy is almost Shakespearian in his grasp of life. He is as fatalistic and as universal, and his grim dissection of the working of men's minds is terrifying in its penetration. He rarely, if ever, points a moral. " This is life," he seems to say, "look at it."

His last book " Captures " is a book of short stories. Eight of them deal with that under-dog, the unemployed. They show him in his rags, physical and spiritual, and they show the man underneath.

The other eight deal with human beings caught in a net either of their own weaving or that of fate.

One of the most powerful, " Late 299 " is a story of a gentleman convict who returns to his home. Refusing pity and defying love he hangs on to his pride which has become his idol. He sits in judgment on a world which has attempted to judge him and which regards him with stupefaction. The only man who appears to understand his attitude is blind.

Of the other seven, the first is a powerful portrayal of pleasure killed by pleasure; the third, a nightmare of a story of a man found frozen to death amongst giant trees he had intended to sell. The fourth deals with a dead passion and unconscious hypocrisy concerning an acquaintance; the fifth of a live passion burning out; the sixth of a condemned dancer who draws a nun back to the world; the seventh a man's memory of the first time he was deceived by a woman, the closing sentence epitomizing it thus; "Victorian age! Hatches were battened down in those days. But innocent, my hat!"

The last story of all concerns a little bookie who, having only known horses through the written word, suddenly comes into possession of one. Galsworthy compares book knowledge and life knowledge and life has it! But the bookie is afraid of life and goes back to his books.

Like all Galsworthy's books this last one of his needs re-reading and owning. It is so packed with matter that, absorbed in the story, one may miss much at first reading.

It is certainly neither comfortable nor comforting reading, a book to pick up at the end of a holiday not at the beginning. It is, in fact, life—and there are moments when one wishes to get away from life. It is as well, therefore, to sandwich a Lewis Carrol between two Galsworthys lest the glaring light shed by the latter may blind us, and we stumble up against that outer darkness men call despair.

K. M. WALKER